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THE LAC QUI PARLE INDIAN MISSION

The Sioux mission station at Lac qui Parle was founded one hundred years ago in July, 1835, by Dr. Thomas Smith Williamson and Alexander Huggins. The establishment was supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as one of several stations that constituted the Dakota mission. For almost twenty years, until the post was abandoned in the fall of 1854, Williamson and his colleagues made every effort to bring spiritual salvation and the best elements of the white man's civilization to the tribes who lived on the upper reaches of the Minnesota River. The story of the missionaries' struggle against hostile forces is one of courage and of perseverance, if not of victory, and their limited achievement was due to no lack of zeal or of Christian idealism. Although they failed to bring about a peaceful adjustment of the relations between the Sioux and the white settlers, the treaty stipulations that they proposed to the government were statesmanlike, and had such provisions been put into effect the bloodshed of 1862 might perhaps have been averted.

Dr. Williamson was born in South Carolina in the year 1800. Although his father was a Presbyterian pastor, Thomas chose the medical profession, received the degree of doctor of medicine at Yale in 1824, and practiced for some years in Ohio. The call of the mission field was strong, however, and in 1833 he and his wife offered their services to the American Board. Volunteers for work

among the Indians were not numerous, for the foreign field offered greater attractions, and the Reverend David G. Greene, who represented the board in its supervision of mission activities among the western and southern tribes, sent the doctor to the upper Mississippi Valley to investigate conditions and report upon possible locations for a new mission. Williamson journeyed to the West in 1834, and visited tribes of the Des Moines River Valley and the Sioux of the Mississippi and the St. Peter's or Minnesota rivers. He detailed to Greene certain reasons why he preferred to settle among the Sauk, but urged other considerations in favor of the Sioux. "There is no other tribe so easy of access to missionaries who have at the same time so little intercourse with our frontier settlements," he wrote, with reference to the Sioux near Fort Snelling. The choice of a location at Lac qui Parle was forecast in his comments on Joseph Renville and the need of missionary work among the Indians living near him. "My mind was deeply impressed," he wrote, "with the idea that a missionary ought speedily to be found in his neighborhood."¹ After receiving his reports and one from the Reverend Cutting Marsh, who was also exploring the upper Mississippi, the board determined to send Williamson to the Sioux country. There he would be able to work near Jedediah Stevens, who had been transferred from the Stockbridge mission near Green Bay to Fort Snelling. On September 9 Greene notified Williamson of the decision of the board and directed him to get in touch with Alexander Huggins, a native of Ohio who, with his wife, was to accompany Williamson as a farmer; and Sarah Poage, Mrs. Williamson's sister, who was to serve as a teacher. Greene hoped that both families might make the trip to Fort Snelling in the fall of 1834, but the necessary

¹ Williamson to Greene, June 12, 1834. Unless otherwise noted, all letters and reports cited are in the archives of the American Board in the custody of the librarian at the Congregational House, Boston. The Minnesota Historical Society has copies of all documents from these archives used in the preparation of this paper.

preparations were not made in time, and the missionaries spent the winter in Ohio. Early the following spring they were on their way to St. Louis, and on May 16, after some misadventures, they finally reached the mouth of the Minnesota and were given temporary lodging in the fort.

Williamson anticipated that there might be a vacant building which could be used for mission purposes at Fort Snelling. In this he was disappointed, and he and Huggins therefore selected a location on Lake Calhoun, thinking that Stevens, who had not yet arrived, would prefer a place near the garrison. This step led to an altercation among the several members of the mission, for Stevens upon his arrival two weeks later claimed the site at Calhoun on the grounds of prior occupancy in 1829. While it does not appear that Williamson allowed the claim, he yielded the point for other considerations, the chief of which was that his Ohio group could be more nearly self-sufficient, and was therefore better able than Stevens to found a station at a distance from the fort. Gideon Pond, who had begun his missionary work at Lake Calhoun in the previous year, was helping the Indians to cultivate the soil and Huggins' services as a farmer were not needed in that vicinity. The opinions of Major John Bliss, the post commandant, and of Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian agent, and the interest shown by Renville, who chanced to be at the fort, also contributed to the decision that Williamson should go to Lac qui Parle. Taliaferro hoped that the mission station would keep him more closely in touch with Sioux living in that vicinity. On June 23 the doctor and his party left Fort Snelling and on July 9, wearied by an overland journey from Traverse des Sioux, they reached Renville's stockade.

The establishment of the mission station on the upper Minnesota was executed quite in the manner prescribed in the instructions given to the workers. "Our Com. wish you to begin on a small scale," Greene wrote to Huggins, "taking with you at first only what will be requisite for your

comfort, & to enable you to begin your work advantageously."² Faced with the necessity of lodging the entire family of Christian brethren and sisters in a one-room cabin, which Renville placed at their disposal, and compelled to leave much of their equipment behind at Fort Snelling, Williamson and his colleagues may well have felt that the beginnings of the mission were more humble than was entirely desirable. Nevertheless their communications to their chief contained no word of complaint, and Greene wrote optimistically that none of the Indian missions established by the board had been begun so favorably.

The mission at Lac qui Parle is described by a traveler who visited the station in the summer of 1837 as follows:

Both the Fort and Dr. Williamson's premises are situated under the hills; so that, being overtopped by them, both places are quite invisible from the main road. Both the establishments are situated on the East side of the River of St. Peter's. The Indians, among whom the Doctor carries on his missionary operations, have their village and farms on the opposite side. The scenery presented to the view from these places is rather indifferent. As little more than high hills on one side and lofty timber on the other can be seen, the prospect thus obstructed on every side necessarily offers but a very limited space for the exercise of the optical organs. This residence here being scarcely yet twelve months, their progress in agriculture, &c, is but little. They have, however, opened a small farm which seems to thrive well.³

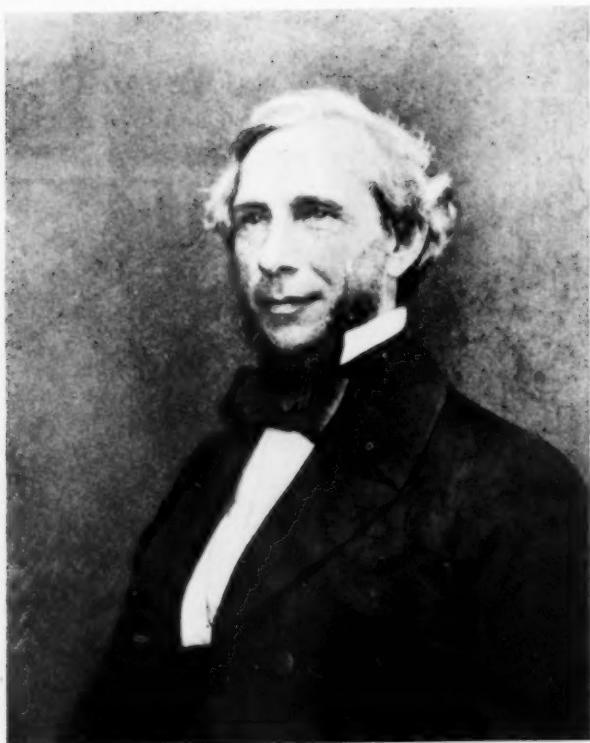
At this spot the mission families conducted their ministry to the western Sioux. Williamson and Huggins labored there for more than ten years before the doctor removed to Kaposia and Huggins to Traverse des Sioux. Gideon Pond lived at the station from 1836 to 1839, working for his keep, but preferring not to share the responsibilities of administering the Christian household. Stephen R. Riggs and his young bride joined the mission in 1837 and, save for a period of three years spent at Traverse des Sioux, remained

² Greene to Huggins, March 4, 1835.

³ Peter Garrioch Diary, July 8, 1837. A transcript of this diary is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.



Tho. S. Williamson



G.R. Riggs

at Lac qui Parle until the station was abandoned in 1854. John N. Kirker and Jonas Pettijohn helped with agricultural and mechanical tasks for short periods, Robert Hopkins and his wife were missionaries there in 1843-44, and Fanny Huggins and Mary Spooner served as teachers after the marriage of Sarah Poage to Gideon Pond. Moses N. Adams assisted Riggs from 1848 to 1853.

During the entire life of the station at Lac qui Parle the members occupied very modest quarters. In the fall of 1835 Huggins built, with Williamson's help, a simple log cabin, situated some three-fourths of a mile from the stockade, and a short time later he built a stable. For another year Williamson's family continued to be dependent upon Renville's hospitality for its lodging. The doctor felt the need of privacy particularly, and confided his wish to Henry Hill, treasurer of the board: "A closet where one may retire and be alone is particularly desirable in this country where the mosquitoes in summer and the cold winds near all the rest of the year render comfortable meditation in retirement out of doors for the most part out of the question."⁴ In December, 1836, the missionaries built a second log cabin, thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and a story and a half high. The lower floor was divided into two rooms and a good shingle roof covered the whole; this did not, however, prevent the snow from drifting through the cracks in the upper walls. The room under the roof was the home of Riggs and his wife for some years after their arrival. In 1841 work was begun on the brick church, which was constructed with the help of two young Sioux. Riggs and his family took refuge in this meeting house when in March, 1854, their house was burned to the ground.

The work of building the houses and church was no small task, for there were few hands to help and no laborers in the neighborhood who were sufficiently skilled to be worth

⁴ Williamson to Hill, June 14, 1836.

their hire. French-Canadian canoemen did not prove satisfactory as carpenters, and the Indian braves considered all forms of manual labor fit only for the women. An occasional emigrant from Red River was prevailed upon to lend his services, but Williamson and Riggs themselves gave considerable time and strength to the material welfare of the station, reluctant though they were to do so.

The remoteness of Lac qui Parle from the civilized world caused the mission workers to give careful attention to their farm. Provisions were brought from St. Louis and the East only at heavy expense and it therefore became Higgins' chief responsibility to raise a good supply of vegetables and grain each year and to care for the livestock on which the settlement was dependent for its meat and dairy products. In 1837 a small grinding mill operated by horse-power was acquired by which corn and wheat were cracked. At first Greene warned Williamson against the evils of "large establishments for agricultural or mechanical purposes," but Williamson explained the situation, reporting five acres planted to corn, potatoes, flax, wheat, peas, and turnips.⁵

Protestant missionaries in Minnesota made a consistent effort to educate and civilize the Indians by teaching them to lead an agrarian rather than a nomadic life. The Sioux near Lac qui Parle were particularly in need of such instruction, for they farmed but little and often returned from their hunting excursions nearly starved. They lived at some distance from the forests, and usually had to travel many miles to hunt buffalo.

Taliaferro reported in 1839:

This band of Indians raised nothing, but depended upon the chase alone for subsistence, and with no means of improving their condition, until the American Board of Missions located the Rev. T. S. Williamson M.D., and S. R. Riggs, A.M., at Renville's trading post.

⁵ Greene to Williamson, March 23, 1837; Williamson to Greene, July 13, 1837.

. . . They have remarkably few horses and cattle; and in reference to other things, such as they use, many are equally destitute.

With the arrival of the missionaries, Taliaferro noted, "a visible change for the better has been effected in the habits and general conduct of the tribes around the mission station."⁶

The progress of the natives was slow and Williamson and his companions never considered themselves successful in teaching them to till the soil. Huggins did two weeks' plowing for them in 1839 and some fifty acres were put under cultivation, most of it planted with corn. In 1842 the crop was blighted by a spring frost, and many of the Indians moved down to Fort Snelling, where they hoped to be given sustenance. In later years crops were better, but any surplus that might be accumulated was more than likely to be consumed by visiting Sioux from Lake Traverse or to be wasted in feasting. As for livestock, both cattle and horses were scarce. There was little or no respect for property, and an Indian's stock was killed for the most trifling reason. At one time the entire band at Lac qui Parle was reported to have fewer domestic animals than were cared for by the mission farmer. The mission suffered from the destructiveness of the natives, who slaughtered many of the cows and pigs.⁷

Despite these difficulties Riggs persisted to the end in his belief that the red man must be trained to farm if he was to survive. Proposals made by the mission shortly before the treaty negotiations of 1851 and submitted to Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota included a stipulation for instruction in agriculture. The argument was advanced to the board in Boston that the villages on the upper Minnesota should not be removed, but should rather be used as a base from which to urge the art of farming upon the wilder-

⁶ 26 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 2, p. 496 (serial 363).

⁷ Williamson to Greene, September 30, 1839; September, 1846.

tribes to the west. These views were received with some favor and provisions were inserted in the treaty of Traverse des Sioux which looked toward agricultural instruction, but the stipulations were not observed.⁸

The efforts made by the missionaries at Lac qui Parle to improve the physical well-being of the Sioux were always subordinated to their main purpose, which was to share with their less fortunate brethren the blessings of their Christian faith. The first step toward effective teaching or preaching was a familiarity with the language, and Williamson and Riggs joined with Gideon and Samuel Pond in their attempt to master the complexities of the Dakota language. Greene's suggestions were not always helpful. He advised the unversed missionary to plunge himself into situations that demanded the use of the Indian tongue. Interpreters should be avoided lest they lead to a dependence upon their services. Writing to Williamson, he suggested:

Can you not go out often & spend a day or two or sometimes two or three weeks in the lodges, learning their words & forms of expression, & attempting to communicate your thoughts to them? . . . I was about to say that I should rejoice to learn that there was not an interpreter within a hundred miles of you.⁹

Gradually the men found a common medium of expression. In his work of relieving sickness among the natives Williamson learned the meaning of a few practical terms, and a review of his French and a resort to the written word for purposes of translation brought some success at least in his efforts to put portions of the Scriptures into the Dakota language. The work was slow at best. "It will be years before I can preach in Sioux," he wrote regretfully to Greene.¹⁰

⁸ Riggs to S. B. Treat, July 31, 1849; Riggs, "Outline of a Plan for Civilizing the Dakotas." The latter document bears the following endorsement: "adopted by the mission at its meeting in June, 1850, and handed to Gov. Ramsey."

⁹ Greene to Williamson, August 15, 1835.

¹⁰ Williamson to Greene, May 4, 1836.

The chief difficulty that the mission workers encountered was that the Sioux had no words to express what all good Christians wished to say. Many abstract terms had no counterpart in Dakota, and the most common metaphors had no meaning in that tongue. As Riggs so neatly put it: "'The lamb of God' an expression perfectly at home in our ears, is exceedingly strange to a Sioux."¹¹ It was only after a long struggle that the Christian teachers and preachers came to sense the *Sprachgefühl* of the Dakota language. The Lac qui Parle station became something of a center of study. Gideon Pond was attracted by the opportunity to perfect his knowledge, and Daniel Gavin, a Swiss missionary from a station on the Mississippi below Fort Snelling, spent the winter of 1838-39 working with Riggs and Pond.

Williamson painfully framed prayers and explanations of Scriptural passages and did his best to speak to the Sioux in their own language when Renville was away. Ordinarily the trader served as interpreter, and Sabbath services were conducted in French and Dakota. The final victory was won when sermons could be preached in the Indian tongue. By that time Dakota expressions and symbolisms were so well assimilated that the speaker lapsed into the dialect naturally. The Ponds, writing to members of their family, inserted paragraphs written in Dakota, and during a visit to Ohio Riggs found to his surprise that his English came haltingly from lack of use.

Williamson, Riggs, and the Ponds were convinced that the most effective teaching and preaching could be done by supplementing the spoken word with the printed page. At first Williamson optimistically hoped that the leaders among the Sioux might be taught English, and that in this way the treasures of English literature might be unlocked to them. He was soon disillusioned, however, and the greater effort was made to translate important Scriptural passages into

¹¹ Extract from Riggs Journal, January 29, 1840, enclosed in Riggs to Greene, February 8, 1840.

Dakota. No attempt had previously been made to reduce the Dakota language to an alphabetical system. Greene sent Williamson a book that had been used among the Creeks, with the thought that it would serve as a model in determining rules of spelling, but the languages were very different and arbitrary decisions regarding the representation of sounds were necessary. Williamson, Samuel Pond, and Jedediah Stevens studied the problems involved and fixed upon an alphabet and a general system of orthography in order that their work might be perfectly co-operative. A conference was planned for September, 1837, at which Gavin was expected to be present, but this effort to enlist the assistance of the Swiss missionaries failed. While Gavin was at Lac qui Parle he attempted to work with Renville on the task of translating the Scriptures. Temperamental differences, however, prevented the work from going forward as rapidly as had been hoped. "The perfection of knowledge, of which they both supposed themselves possessed, was a great bar to progress," Riggs observed dryly.¹²

Having agreed upon a common system of representing the Dakota gutturals and "clicks," the members of the mission attacked the work of translation. Stevens made no great progress, and even after several years his fellow workers expressed the opinion that he probably would never learn the language. Williamson, Riggs, and the Ponds all did constructive work and the results of their labors were published in several volumes under the supervision of Williamson and Riggs, who made trips to Cincinnati for that purpose in 1838-39 and 1842-43, respectively. The story of the translation of the Gospel at Lac qui Parle is a familiar one, as recorded by Huggins:

Dr. Williamson reads a verse in french then Mr. R[enville] speaks it in Sioux and the Dr. Mr Riggs & Mr. Pond all write it down then the Dr reads another verse One Chap[ter] is as much as they

¹² Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux*, 52 (Chicago, 1880).

get done in one day after they get a Chap they read & compare it to see if they all wrote the same thing.¹³

The method of work was cumbersome and slow but when Dr. Williamson journeyed East in the fall of 1838 he took with him Dakota translations of the entire Gospel of Mark and extracts from Matthew, Luke, and John, the Acts, and the first Epistle of John; and Old Testament passages from Genesis, the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Daniel. The story of Joseph, translated from Genesis by the Pond brothers, was published with an elementary reading book prepared by Riggs. In 1842 a Dakota primer, adapted by Riggs from English readers by the Reverend T. H. Gal-laudet, a hymn book prepared by Renville and the Lac qui Parle missionaries, and a *Second Dakota Reading Book*, consisting of Old Testament stories translated by Samuel Pond, were published. In 1852 a *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language* was published by the Smithsonian Institution under the patronage of the Minnesota Historical Society. The editing was done by Riggs, but the work represents the efforts of all the members of the Dakota mission. In 1853 Riggs edited a second hymnal, which included tunes as well as words. The singing at Lac qui Parle was encouraged and directed by Huggins.

The publication of the translations made at Lac qui Parle was financed for the most part by special subscription. Williamson records donations amounting to three hundred and sixty dollars, including a hundred dollars from Renville and twenty from Joseph N. Nicollet, a French explorer who visited the station during the summer of 1838.¹⁴ The total amount more than covered the publishing projects undertaken in 1839. The American Board gave Riggs and Williamson their wholehearted support in the project of making

¹³ Huggins to an unknown person, January 18, 1838, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁴ Renville to Henry H. Sibley, October 24, 1838, Sibley Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; Williamson to Greene, February 4, 1838; May 16, 1839.

Lac qui Parle 24th Octobr 1838

Henry H. Sibley Capt.
Cher Monsieur

(Je vous envoi cette Lettre pour)

Bons amis de Mes respects et pour vous apprendre que je Me
suis bénir en bonne santé à Mon poste avec le Contentement
de trouver toute Ma famille en bonne santé et bien Contente de Mon
avoir voyant qu'il y avoit tant de Sauvage Autour de mes il y a
une partie des Caïton qui sont allés aux Mississipi que Mon
fais du quid voudrait au printemps prochain et une partie que
j'ai trouvée amie ici j'ai beaucoup de Sauvage ici Mais je
vous approuve qu'il y en a plus que Moins que meurent, j'espère,
et je vous promets pour la hétro que vous Maura donne à
Mon départ que je vous permet de faire les adresses de l'Empre
je suis déterminé à mon poste, donnez moi forme de dropt cette somme
J. Williamson bien savor du trouble avec eux que Dieu Sibély.

Notre Amie Dr Williamson nous laisse compter
à sa Dame pour cette hiver dont je vous pris de lui donner
plus Pasteur et de les Miettes à Mon Compte vers Mississipi being

Toute Ma famille me que Hypothèse nous appren de
leur confort. Je suis Cher Amis

Votre Ami Joseph Renville
Joseph Renville Esq

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM RENVILLE TO SIBLEY,
OCTOBER 24, 1838

[The writer authorizes Sibley to charge to his account the sum of one hundred dollars to be donated to Dr. Williamson for the publication work of his mission.]

the Scriptures available in the Dakota language, although, as the years went on, the prospect that the Sioux bands would profit by the translations became increasingly discouraging. Greene was too old a hand in the mission field not to be a realist about such things. "I hope & pray," he wrote to Riggs, "that the Lord will give the Indians a heart to learn to read & obey his Word, of which they now have so large a portion in their own language."¹⁵

The reading and writing of the Dakota language was made the chief objective of the schoolteaching done at Lac qui Parle. Sarah Poage and, later, Fanny Huggins worked with the children and the women and an attempt, albeit an unsuccessful one, was made to interest the men as well. Usually a feast was necessary if the men were to be assembled. In teaching as in other branches of effort, the missionaries had to make the best of unfavorable conditions. During the first year school was held in the one-room cabin in which the Williamson family made its home. At times meetings would be held in one of the Indian lodges. No books or working materials were at hand, and the necessity of working in a strange tongue added to the teacher's problems. The simplest arithmetical processes were complicated by the lack of common symbols. Disciplinary problems presented their distractions, and even the lack of proper clothing proved to be a disturbing factor. "But leaving the *question of comfort*," Riggs complained in an appeal for donations, "it is our firm conviction that we ought not to have boys from six to twelve years of age, in an almost perfect state of nudity, attend our schools."¹⁶ A possible solution to the problem of clothing was seen in domestic weaving. Renville's sheep were sheared in the name of civilization, Huggins built a loom, and lessons in the operation of it were given to the women. Homespun fabrics

¹⁵ Greene to Riggs, [1843].

¹⁶ Riggs to Greene, endorsed August 27, 1842.

held no attractions for them, however, and the textile arts were never important in the life of the village.

Activities in the school varied sharply with the seasons. Sessions were suspended when hunting parties left the villages and good fishing might at any time decimate the ranks of the scholars. Attendance averaged from five to forty, and in 1840 a total of seventy natives were said to be able to read Dakota. These were divided into three groups on the basis of reading ability. The experience of the American Board had been such as to discourage the organization of boarding schools among the Indians, and, save for taking a few children into their families, the missionaries made no attempt to establish anything more ambitious than a day school at Lac qui Parle. They did hope, however, that the day would come when native teachers, trained at the mission school, could be sent out to teach Indians in other villages to read and write. This plan received the approval of the board in Boston, and two hundred dollars was allowed for the purpose.¹⁷

In 1840 Waumidokiga, a native teacher, was employed to work at Lake Traverse. He taught twenty-three pupils, of whom three made a beginning in reading and writing and four more learned to spell. The missionaries agreed to pay the native teacher five dollars for each person whom he taught to read and write.¹⁸ The growing hostility of the Sioux men at Lac qui Parle toward the mission and unfortunate incidents connected with the enmity of Sioux and Chippewa in 1839 prevented native teachers from conducting classes in other villages. By 1850 the attitude of the missionaries toward boarding schools had changed. They came to feel that lasting impressions could only be made upon a Sioux child when he lived in a school and did not

¹⁷ Greene to Williamson, March 16, 1839; December 23, 1840.

¹⁸ "Annual Report of the Lac qui Parle Mission for the Year Ending July, 1840," in 26 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 2, p. 378 (serial 382); Riggs Journal, December 31, 1839, in Riggs to Greene, February 8, 1840.

return each day to a hostile home environment. Recommendations submitted by missionaries to Ramsey in 1850 included a proposal that manual labor schools be established, and this plan of education was embodied in the treaties of 1851. The board reluctantly gave its consent to the founding of such a school at Lac qui Parle, but the station was abandoned before the final steps were taken.

The medical work of Dr. Williamson played its part in the efforts of the mission workers to save the Indians from the errors of ignorance and superstition. His skill and unselfishness won not a few sufferers from the native medicine men, and his services in vaccinating the Sioux against smallpox were helpful, even though delays in sending vaccine to him meant that his ministrations were not always timely. Greene expressed his concern lest the ravages of the dread disease should destroy the Sioux warriors before they could be converted. On occasions the doctor's errands of healing carried him westward to Lake Traverse and at one time he took Dr. George F. Turner's place as surgeon at Fort Snelling. Renville repaid his kindness by giving the mission a cow, and other contributions for medical services increased the revenues of the station. Williamson's accounts show that among his paying patients were Alexander Faribault and Henry H. Sibley.

The Sabbath day services were planned with particular care. Riggs's description of the first that he attended at Lac qui Parle is a graphic one:

Doct. Williamson led in the devotions of the sanctuary. And after asking for the blessing of God upon the exercises he proceeded to read a Dakota hymn. After it was read they all rose and joined in singing, and led by one of their own number, they made as solemn and impressive music as I ever heard in the house of God. Prayer was made and another hymn sung. Doct. Williamson then read a portion of scripture in Dakota and some remarks in connection with the story of the "Prodigal Son," which he had prepared with the assistance of Mr. Renville. For the benefit of the few French present, he read also a chapter in the French bible and made some remarks.

After prayer and singing again in the language of this people the assembly was dismissed with the usual benediction.¹⁹

Although attendance varied, an average of perhaps thirty or forty, most of whom were women, were present at services. The admission of the first male member of the church was celebrated with great satisfaction in 1841.

Renville wavered occasionally in his allegiance to the mission church, talked of the need of a Catholic priest at his post, and kept his family at home at times when he was vexed. Nevertheless the first years of the mission were years of encouragement, and Williamson considered his ministry a profitable one. During the following decade opposition to the church increased. The roll of active members was never long, and a discouraging number had to be removed or suspended. In 1849 Riggs recorded only eighteen members in good standing, although fifty-four had been received into the fold since 1835.²⁰ Efforts were made from time to time to revive a flagging interest with special services, and visiting preachers from other stations in the mission brought their message of inspiration to the Indians at Lac qui Parle. On one occasion in September, 1845, Riggs, who was then at Traverse des Sioux, and Samuel Pond spent ten days visiting Williamson, and preached at seven meetings.²¹

The actual instruction of the Indians was only one feature of the mission work. It was fully as necessary that the missionaries convince others that their efforts were deserving of support. From the beginning the members of the Lac qui Parle group were careful to cultivate good relations with government officials representing both the Indian office and the military. Greene's instructions to Riggs are worthy of a pupil of Polonius: he should call upon the commandant at Fort Snelling, he should share his plans with

¹⁹ Riggs to Greene, September 25, 1837.

²⁰ Riggs to Treat, July 31, 1849.

²¹ Williamson to Greene, September 27, 1845.

Taliaferro, he should be sparing in reproof even though he encounter profanity and irreligion. These men had it in their power to help or hinder, and the mission workers should take care not to antagonize them.²² Similarly, efforts were made to maintain a friendly acquaintance with the fur traders. Williamson's messages to Sibley are a strange blending of business and morality, of gratitude for services rendered and of entreaty that the merchant should not travel on the Sabbath or sell whisky to the Indians. Martin McLeod borrowed books from the mission library and was active in getting subscriptions to the Dakota lexicon, yet he rebelled against the missionaries' religious exhortations, speaking of them irreverently as the "hypocritical cant of the day."²³ Relations were not so peaceful with the generation of traders who succeeded Sibley and McLeod, and by 1850 the two groups were aligned in opposition to one another, the missionary seeking to civilize the native while the trader sought to exploit him to his own advantage. The efforts made by the traders to claim for themselves a large part of the annuities paid to the Indians and the missionaries' struggle to prevent the traders from diverting treaty payments in this way plainly shows the opposition of their interests.

The missionaries came into contact with the government through officials in the West and through the American Board in Boston. Williamson and Riggs kept watch of James Doty's negotiations with the Indians and observed the spread of drunkenness and crime from the frontier to far distant villages. At times the mission workers themselves served the government in some minor capacity. During the treaty negotiations at Traverse des Sioux, Williamson was engaged as a physician and Riggs as an interpreter. At an earlier time Gideon Pond was a government Indian farmer. More important than these humble serv-

²² Greene to Riggs, March 11, 1837.

²³ Grace Lee Nute, ed., "The Diary of Martin McLeod," *ante*, 4: 419.

ices were the protestations and resolutions submitted to government officials in St. Paul or, through the mission board, to those in Washington. The missionaries saw the Indian problem for what it was and their suggestions, while not perhaps original, were based upon a careful consideration of the difficulties involved. Their scheme of an Indian administration included the assignment of the Indians to a reservation with some promise of permanent security against encroachment; the breaking up of the community mode of life, and the protection of property held on the basis of individual ownership; education in manual labor and village schools, supported by a fund to which the Indians should have no access; prohibition of the liquor traffic; and, finally, direct payment of annuities on a semiannual schedule.²⁴

The Sioux treaties of 1851 embodied enough of the civilizing features outlined to make them acceptable to the missionaries, and letters went east from Lac qui Parle asking for plans for boarding school buildings and suggesting that workers should be on hand to man them as soon as they could be constructed. Dr. Williamson settled at Yellow Medicine, establishing a station near the lower agency.

The plan to remodel the station at Lac qui Parle in conformity with the provisions of the treaties of 1851 was never realized. Almost three years passed, and the government continued to neglect the educational programs for which the treaties provided. The American Board finally decided to wait no longer and was going ahead with school plans at Lac qui Parle when on March 3, 1854, Riggs's house caught fire and was totally destroyed. After some consideration, the decision was made to abandon the station and remove the workers to a point near Yellow Medicine. There in the fall of the same year the Hazelwood or New Hope mission was established. The story of that station and of Williamson's station at Yellow Medicine from their

²⁴ Riggs, "Outline of a Plan for Civilizing the Dakotas."

founding until the outbreak of 1862 belongs to another chapter of Minnesota mission history. After 1854 the plan of work and the conditions under which it was carried on were very different from those of the earlier years. In a very real sense the abandonment of the location at Lac qui Parle marks a turning point in the ministry of the Dakota mission.

CHARLES M. GATES

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

CARVER'S OLD FORTIFICATIONS

In the year 1766 Captain Jonathan Carver visited what is now Minnesota. Carver was plainly an adventurer, but he was also an interested observer of the natives of the vast unknown country west and north of the colonies. When, some twelve years after his visit, he published his *Travels*, he devoted over two-thirds of the volume to the Indian tribes he had visited and the natural history of the region they inhabited. Historians have pointed out that the information Carver gives on these subjects is not all strictly original. There is, however, an interesting exception to this criticism. At a date when practically nothing was known about such earthworks, Carver described what he believed were ancient fortifications near the foot of Lake Pepin.¹

Carver was one of the first explorers to draw the attention of antiquaries to the Mississippi River basin. He shares with John and William Bartram pioneer honors in the field of American archaeology. Mounds first attracted attention to American antiquities, and no descriptions of earthworks earlier than those of Carver and the Bartrams have been encountered.² Whether or not what Carver saw

¹ For Carver's description, see his *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, 56-59 (London, 1778). This familiar account was briefly paraphrased by Samuel R. Brown, in the *Western Gazetteer*, 266 (Auburn, New York, 1817), and is quoted in Benjamin S. Barton's *Observations on Some Parts of Natural History*, 1: 12-14 (London, 1787); Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal of Travels*, 332 (Albany, 1821); George W. Featherstonhaugh's *Report of a Geological Reconnoissance Made in 1835*, 129 n., 130 n. (24 Congress, 1 session, Senate Documents, no. 333 — serial 282), and *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor*, 1: 241 n., 242 n. (London, 1847); and elsewhere.

² See Samuel F. Haven's *Archaeology of the United States*, 20 (Smithsonian Institution, *Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 8 — Washington, 1856); and Daniel S. Durrie's article on "Captain Jonathan Carver, and 'Carver's Grant,'" in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 6: 227

at the foot of Lake Pepin was actually artificial earthworks is beside the point, which is that Carver gave an initial impetus to American archaeology. The fact that he mentions the subject at so early a date supports the belief that he actually saw what he described, though he has been doubted on just this point.

But aside from Carver's historical position, what is the significance of the information itself? Were there ever any such earthworks as those he describes on Lake Pepin? There are, clearly, but two possible answers: either Carver described authentic earthworks, or he described what he believed were authentic earthworks. Now the ideal way to judge the correctness of the interpretations of an archaeologist, as of a historian, is to go back to original sources. But this is impossible in the present case; the site, no doubt, has long since been destroyed by the plow or by the river. If we can no longer consult the original sources, the earthworks, we must do the best we can with secondary sources, the documents. Any solution, if one can be found, of the problem whether Carver's fortifications were real or imagined will doubtless come by reason rather than by visible proof.

The important points in Carver's brief description follow. He found one day, apparently quite by chance, "some miles below Lake Pepin" and only a short distance from the river upon an otherwise level plain, a slight elevation which appeared to be an "intrenchment" or fortification. Though it was grass-covered, it appeared to have once been

(Madison, 1872). It may be noted that a plan of the works at Circleville, Ohio, was published anonymously in the *Royal American Magazine*, edited by Isaiah Thomas at Boston, in January, 1775. Carver was at that time in London, but he may have seen the account, which is the earliest reference to Mississippi Valley earthworks known to the writer. The Reverend David Jones of Freehold, New Jersey, had visited the Old Chillicothe (now Frankfort), Ohio, works, and he may have sent the contribution to Thomas. See David Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773*, 56 (New York, 1865).

a breastwork about four feet high and "extending the best part of a mile," probably in circumference. It was large enough to hold five thousand persons, was roughly circular in outline, and its "flanks," or sides, reached to the river. Though badly weathered, the "angles" were distinguishable, and Carver says that the work was as regular as if it had been planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not plainly marked, but he believed that there had once been one; and, judging from the situation as well as from the shape of the work, Carver was convinced that it had been intended as a fortification. It fronted the country, the rear being protected by the river, and there was no higher ground in the vicinity to command it. Near at hand were some oak trees, and elk and deer had in several places worn paths across the embankments. The amount of earth accumulated upon the work indicated to Carver its great antiquity. He carefully examined the angles and every part of the fortification, he says, and he later regretted that he had not encamped at the site or made drawings of it.

After Carver returned to the colonies he learned that a M. St. Pierre—probably Jacques le Gardeur de St. Pierre, who was commandant at Lake Pepin and the ruins of whose fort Carver says he saw—and several traders had noticed similar works, and that their opinions generally agreed with his. He hoped that his mention of the work would induce others to make a more thorough examination, and to later explorers he left the problem whether it was of natural or artificial origin. He had difficulty in explaining such a work in the light of Indian knowledge of warfare, and he proposed the idea that this region had not always been inhabited by tribes of savages. Such is the information that was printed in Carver's *Travels* of 1778. His manuscript journal contains no mention of the site or of his examination of it. It has been suggested that there is no reason to doubt that Carver described what he saw at this place simply because he does not mention it in his journal; it is prob-

able that he added much from memory when he published the book.³

Carver does not state which bank of the river is concerned in his account, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that he is speaking of the right, or Minnesota bank. Neither does he give the exact location of the site, but he says only that the works were "some miles below Lake Pepin." Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, in his tour of 1805-06, stopped during his descent of the Mississippi at a prairie on the right bank about nine miles below Lake Pepin. There he saw some hills "which had the appearance of the old fortifications spoken of," according to his own statement, in which he undoubtedly refers to Carver's notes. Pike promised to describe the hills more fully at another time, but he does not appear to have done so. It may be noted that he mentions separately the "Grand Encampment," which he locates between the mouths of the Buffalo and Chippewa rivers. Henry R. Schoolcraft, although interested, did not visit the site during his voyage of 1820; he says, however, that the existence of the fortifications was confirmed by a trader, Harman V. Hart of Albany, who spent five years in the Sioux country and frequently visited the site described by Carver as well as others on the St. Peter's or Minnesota River which were reported to demonstrate "an intimate acquaintance with geometrical solids."⁴

Soon after Schoolcraft's visit, Stephen H. Long made his

³ The Carver manuscripts which are now in the British Museum do not coincide with the printed volume of travels. Photostats of the manuscripts are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Oliver W. Holmes, in a manuscript account of "Jonathan Carver's Original Journals," owned by the society, on page 28 has made the suggestion concerning the absence of mention of the earthworks in the manuscript journal. The printed description reads very much as though it had been written in reminiscence.

⁴ Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1: 205 (Coues edition, New York, 1895); Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*, 312, 331-334. Harman V. Hart was alderman in Albany in 1825, and is listed in the city directories from 1816 to 1845, but no further information concerning him is known to the present writer.

second trip to the upper Mississippi, and his enthusiastic party endeavored to reinvestigate the matter. He was not so fortunate as Schoolcraft in finding someone who could speak of the works from personal knowledge. "We spoke with the oldest traders in the country; with those who had been all their lifetime in the habit of encamping in that vicinity, but met with none who had ever seen them or heard of them." Joseph Rolette, Sr., of the American Fur Company suggested that the most likely place was a well-known trading site called the Grand Encampment, a few miles south of Lake Pepin. Although he had frequently camped there, Rolette had never observed anything like fortifications. With this questionably useful suggestion, the party set out on its survey, Long and Colhoun, the astronomer, having gone from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling by land. As the members of the river party neared the shore at the Grand Encampment they thought they saw Carver's works in a regular elevation paralleling the river bank, but closer examination showed this to be merely a natural elevation, in no way resembling an artificial earthwork.⁵

The travelers questioned whether or not they had seen what Carver had seen, and whether what Carver had described was actually artificial earthworks. Thomas Say, the distinguished naturalist of the party, and Lieutenant Martin Scott, commanding the military escort from Fort Crawford, thought that there could be no doubt that they were where Carver had been, and that since it would be impossible to overlook a work covering a mile on a prairie not more than two and a half miles wide, Carver must have mistaken a natural for an artificial elevation. In their opinion the strongest argument in favor of the existence of an artificial earthwork was the many mounds observed by Long and Colhoun between Wabasha's village, on the present site of Winona, and the St. Peter's, many of which were near the

⁵ William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River*, 1: 276-278 (Philadelphia, 1824).

southern end of Lake Pepin. Although they did not see any earthworks with parapets, such as Carver's work was said to have, the works of this nature on the Wisconsin River appeared to corroborate his description. The conclusion of William H. Keating, the historiographer of the expedition, was that Carver had seen what he had described, artificial earthworks, but that they were not to be found at the Grand Encampment. At another place higher up the river, which also appeared to correspond with his description, the party again tried to locate the earthworks, once more without success.

Elliott Coues, in one of the lively footnotes to his edition of Pike's *Expeditions*, charges Keating with faulty logic. The upshot of Keating's examination, that Carver saw what he claimed to have seen but that the works were not at the Grand Encampment, is, Coues says, "clearly a non sequitur, or a lucus a non, or a petitio principii, or an argumentum ad hominem, or whatever may be the logical definition of an illogical syllogism. It misses the point. The question is not one of identifying Carver's locality; the question is whether what he saw there was an artificial work or a natural formation."⁶ One cannot help feeling that Coues himself somehow missed the point. Keating was certainly not in a position to say that Carver had seen what he described, since Keating could not be sure that he had examined what Carver previously had examined. Keating's statement is, however, sufficient authority for assuming that the earthworks were not at the Grand Encampment, where Coues supposed they must have been. At least Keating is sure that there were none there when he examined the site, and only river floods could have materially changed the appearance of the site between Carver's time and Keating's visit. It will be noted later that the earthworks may have been genuine. This possibility obviates Coues's objection that Keating did not say that Carver had seen genuine earth-

⁶ Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions*, 1: 59 n.

works. It does not, on the other hand, establish the authenticity of Carver's earthworks.

Notwithstanding Coues's statement, it is at the outset less important to determine Carver's ability as an archaeological observer than to identify, if possible, the locality in which he places his fortifications. If the formation to which Carver referred could be identified and examined afresh, its origin could undoubtedly be determined and Carver's ability as an observer could at the same time be checked. Since it is no longer possible to do this, one can only form an opinion as to whether the work Carver says he saw was artificial or natural. Keating has been of service in stating that in 1823 he saw no artificial earthworks on the site of the Grand Encampment. Coues believed that Carver's works were on "Teepeeota Point," a projecting tongue of sand drift, or a terrace, which forms the northern end of a kind of island extending some nine miles in the delta of the Zumbro River, and Coues was sure that the works could be located exactly. But "Teepeeota" means simply "many tipis," or Grand Encampment, and it has been noted above that Carver's site probably was not identical with the Grand Encampment.

Long's early reconnaissance of the area under discussion sheds some light here. He writes:

Opposite to the mouth of this river [*Au Boeuf, or Beef Slough*], on the west side of the Mississippi, is a large prairie, situated between the bluffs and the river, being about two miles in width; on a part of it is a scattering growth of timber. Should there be occasion to send troops into this quarter, they might be posted to advantage at this place, as the position would be secure, and at the same time, afford a tolerable command of the river. The elevation of the prairie above the river is about twenty-five feet. Upon the upper end of the prairie is the Grand Encampment, or place of general resort for the Indian traders, during the winter, for the purpose of trafficking with the Indians.⁷

⁷Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 22 (1889). See also Lafayette H. Bunnell, *Winona (We-no-nah) and Its Environs*, 62 (Winona, 1897).

It is clear from this passage that as early as 1817 Long had examined with some care, as a likely site for an army post, the whole of this area, including the Grand Encampment. It is hardly credible that he would have missed any old earthwork there. Coues believed that Carver had mistaken natural for artificial works, as, apparently, William Clark did some years later on the Missouri. This view may be correct, but one wishes that Coues had made a personal survey of the locality, which would doubtless have been thorough and final.

We come now to the year 1835, exactly a century ago, when there journeyed to Minnesota its first professional geologist, George W. Featherstonhaugh. As United States geologist, he was accompanied by a young officer of the army, Lieutenant William W. Mather, later state geologist of Ohio. These men also were very much interested in finding Carver's site. Featherstonhaugh found that an extensive prairie, about halfway between the site of Wabasha's village—that is, the upper village, said to be on the Grand Encampment—and Lake Pepin, was bordered with cedar trees. The prairie was "about eight miles S. E. of Roque's trading-house, near the entrance of Lake Pepin," and was, of course, in the general area mentioned in earlier accounts. On climbing the bank where he saw the trees, he found, according to his narrative, a broad, smooth prairie. Toward the south, not more than two miles away, he noticed some unusual elevations and immediately concluded that he had found Carver's work; on going closer he was sure that he had done so. It was, he felt, sufficiently remarkable to justify Carver's description.⁸

The elevation had, according to Featherstonhaugh, the appearance of an ancient military work in ruin. There ap-

⁸ Featherstonhaugh, *Report*, 129-132. The whereabouts of the papers of Featherstonhaugh and Mather is not known. Mather's own report was submitted directly to the war department, where it remained until 1851. In that year Mather was invited to become an honorary member of the Minnesota Historical Society, and in accepting the honor he re-

peared to have been a ditch outside the walls, filled in places with drifted sand; there was a slope of about twenty yards "from what might be supposed the walls of the work to the ditch." Within the walls was a great open space; there were irregular salient angles, and at three different places were the more regular remains of something like bastions. This enclosed area was seventy yards in diameter in a northwest-southeast direction, including the ruins of several "terraces," by which the writer may mean artificial mounds. The circumference of this work, including the angles, was four hundred and twenty-four yards. Seven hundred yards south-southeast of this work was another which resembled the first in form and size, and at a similar distance east-southeast from the last was a still larger work, eleven hundred yards in circumference, with similar remnants of bastions. Featherstonhaugh estimated that this enclosure would easily contain a thousand persons. Its walls, if they could be called such, were lofty, he says; on the south side of the work was a deep ditch. In the area to the south of these works he counted six more elevations, each rudely resembling the other, with what appeared to be a defense work connecting them. At the northern end of the group everything bore evidence of rude artificial work; at the southern end, and not far from the river, the works passed gradually into an irregular surface, a mere "confused intermixing of cavities and knolls, that might be satisfactorily attributed to the blowing of sand." The writer states that the prairie is a sand prairie, covered with a foot or two of vegetable matter, and he confirms Carver's statement that the southern end of the works was overgrown by oaks. All the angles and bastions were very much worn away by erosion, and some of the outer slopes consisted of wind-blown sand. Featherstonhaugh was, finally, not satisfied as to referred to the report and offered to recover the manuscript for the society. A short time later the war department did return the document to him, but he died soon thereafter and the subsequent history of his report is unknown.

whether the work was artificial or natural. If, when it became better known and studied, Indian artifacts should be found near the site, the question of whether the works were artificial would, he thought, be finally settled; if any artifacts were there, however, they would probably be buried too deep for the passing traveler to find them. He adds that he brought nothing away except a plan of the general appearance of the site and one or two of the principal elevations. If these are still in existence, search has failed to reveal their whereabouts.

Featherstonhaugh in his volume entitled *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor*, which was published in 1847, gives a few more data from his survey of the formation. He appears to have been directed to the place by Louis L'Amirant, one of his voyageurs. The explorer states here that the prairie was quite level from the river to the elevations, the surface "completely composed of dusty sand, covering a black alluvial mould." A ditch surrounded the first work, "whether made by men or the wind"; to the northeast was a terrace eight paces broad. Standing at the highest point, he could observe a line of elevations extending for at least four miles. The author seems to have had serious doubts about the origin of the work, just as did later geologists. It was possible, he thought, that the formation had been caused by the wind, but he was by no means certain. In one part all was an even prairie, in another were many structures resembling works of an artificial nature. But if the works were fortifications, what were they intended to defend? And Carver had certainly spoken somewhat extravagantly when he said that they were fashioned with the skill of a Vauban. In telling of his return trip from the upper Minnesota, Featherstonhaugh again mentions the earthworks. On October 24 his party landed at "Cedar Prairie, where Carver's fortifications are." He had previously visited them on September 8, and he now made a circuit of them—a distance of about four miles—"and

ascertained that they do not come to the river, some bottom land intercepting them." He again refers to the apparent artificiality of the northern end. "The high mounds are all hollow inside," he says, probably referring to the previously mentioned "terraces," which, from this description, resemble the remains of earth lodges. Again he leaves unsettled the question of the origin of the works.*

There is now a gap in the evidence from 1835 to 1884. In the course of mound surveys in the latter year, Theodore H. Lewis visited "Sand Prairie" and surveyed what had been reported to him as "Carver's Fort." The difficulties that he encountered are described in a letter to his patron, Alfred J. Hill, dated at Wabasha, August 8, 1884, in which Lewis mentions having thoroughly explored Sand Prairie without having discovered a single mound or artificial work. "Those who were hunting for Carver's fort," he writes, "ought to have known that sand ridges from 6 to 20 ft high was not a work 4 ft high and that Sand prairie is not a 'fine level open plain' but the greater portion of it is rolling & rough." He reports a conversation with Francis Talbot of Wabasha, who had furnished data to the compiler of a *History of Wabasha County* published in the same year. Lewis assured Talbot that what he called "Carver's Fort" was only a firebreak; "he said well he was on record as the discoverer of it & as next year it would be destroyed as it is being grubbed no one could dispute it." Lewis immediately took the cue and surveyed the site, an operation which, he remarked, "has taken the backbone" out of Talbot. Talbot probably was the source for the vague statement made on page 581 of the *History* that Carver's fortification "was undoubtedly below Wabasha, at what is now called Sand Prairie, also a part of the 'Grand Encampment,' where mounds and relics of the prehistoric age have been found, many of which are traceable and easily seen." When Professor Newton H. Winchell came to pub-

*Featherstonhaugh, *Canoe Voyage*, 1:241-245; 2:19.

lish in the *Aborigines of Minnesota* the material gathered by Lewis, the data which he had preserved about the Sand Prairie site were omitted, undoubtedly because Lewis did not believe in the ancient origin of the work. Lewis' note in his field book for August 6 reads: "This is undoubtedly a fire brake. The furrow can be plainly traced as per cross section."¹⁰

It is only fair to local historians to note that Thomas E. Randall, in his *History of the Chippewa Valley*, 40 (Eau Claire, 1875), states that he had frequently examined the works "spoken of by Carver and Featherstonhaugh as vast, ancient fortifications, situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, between the village of Wabasha, and what used to be known as the grand Encampment, and must say that a great stretch of the imagination is required to make anything more of them, than the formations of natures own handywork." Randall makes clear his position that until further excavation should "disclose more convincing evidence of human agency" in the construction of these works, he would be slow to accept the explorers' conclusions.

Professor Winchell and Dr. Warren Upham state that Carver's fortifications were not personally known to them, but that on the basis of what could be gathered from a general knowledge of the valley of the river, from the available descriptions, and from the absence of further descriptions

¹⁰ Lewis' letter is in the Northwestern Archaeological Survey Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. See also, in the same collection, his Field Books, no. 16, p. 7. It should here be noted that Dr. L. C. Estes, who is probably Dr. David C. Estes of Lake City, referred to Carver's notes on the earthworks in a communication to the Smithsonian Institution in 1866. He states that for several years he had given attention to the antiquities on the banks of the Mississippi River and Lake Pepin, but that the passing of eighty or ninety years since Carver's time had made great changes in their appearance. "We can very easily imagine that they were once used for fortifications, but they have now scarcely any resemblance to modern forts." Other earthworks at Lake City, Dr. Estes believed, also were fortifications and "turf houses" erected by a race superior to the Indian. Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Reports*, 1866, p. 366 (39 Congress, 2 session, House Miscellaneous Documents, no. 83—serial 1302).

by later travelers, they thought that the works were undoubtedly due to some "outliers" of the sandstone which forms the lower slopes of the bluffs in the valley at this point.¹¹ Such rocky formations were, they thought, probably the cause of the existence of this sand prairie, such remnants of once continuous formations being known at several places. The covering of sand could be explained by the supposition that the St. Croix sandstone had there been exposed to the action of sand and water, and thus disintegrated.

It is clear that the original site of Carver's fortifications is still in doubt, no one of the sources relating to them having accurately located them. Irrespective of the authenticity of the works, and Coues notwithstanding, it should be possible to determine the site. It may or may not have been identical with the Grand Encampment. Conflicting as it appears at certain points to be, what evidence is known to exist concerning Carver's works has here been presented. So far as Carver himself is concerned, there can be little question as to his sincerity in the matter. It should be borne in mind that Carver knew some military science—he appears, at least, to have been familiar with the works of Vauban, and he served as an officer in the French and Indian Wars—and he would scarcely have described a formation as a superb military work if it had had absolutely no resemblance to an artificial structure. Beyond this, his description, like that of the somewhat maligned Featherstonhaugh, is quite circumstantial, though it may have been written some time after his visit to the West. It is to be hoped that Featherstonhaugh's sketches of the site will some day be recovered, since an inspection of them would doubtless indicate whether or not the works were artificial or natural in origin. Even better than a discovery of these

¹¹ Newton H. Winchell and Warren Upham, *The Geology of Minnesota*, 57 n. (Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Final Report*, vol. 2—St. Paul, 1888).

sketches would be a rediscovery of the original site, though this is, certainly, a very remote possibility. Such a rediscovery would make possible a definite settlement of the nature of these so-called fortifications.

Judging from analogous data from the same region of the upper Mississippi, which can here only be referred to, there is a possibility that Carver saw truly artificial earthworks. The evidence preserved by archaeological surveys establishes the fact that certain sites in the upper Mississippi Valley, doubtless the remains of house structures, were enclosed with walls of earth or palisades of timbers and earth. Such, Carver's earthworks may have been. If it is ever possible to trace the prehistoric migrations of peoples across the great Mississippi Valley, it may be possible also to establish the relationship between these village sites and the mounds, and this may in turn indicate to what groups the earthworks—if such they were—mentioned by Carver belonged. Carver's mention of earthworks is, after all, notable chiefly because it came at such an early date rather than because it is a permanent contribution to knowledge. There seems, however, to be no good reason to state categorically that in this matter, as in some others, Carver drew on his imagination or on the tales of other travelers, and that he saw at the foot of Lake Pepin nothing more than natural, broken, river country.

G. HUBERT SMITH

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

VOLUNTEER GUARDS IN MINNESOTA

The first volunteer military company in Minnesota was organized at St. Paul on April 17, 1856. The interest of some of its members in military drill doubtless arose out of the increased tensity of sectional rivalries that marked the fifties. The time was nearly at hand when Elmer E. Ellsworth was to dramatize through his Zouaves a mounting northern interest in preparedness.¹ Another motive was supplied by the need of trained men to meet any special emergency that might arise in the frontier territory. Probably for many the decisive factor in causing them to join the guards is to be found in the glamor of uniforms and military organization, coupled with the likelihood that a company of young civilian soldiers would be a nucleus for many interesting social activities. At all events, the organization was effected under the name of Minnesota Pioneer Guard, and, true to pioneer traditions, it was solidly based upon a constitution and bylaws.

The formal rules of the guard called for commissioned and noncommissioned officers with duties similar to those of officers of the regular army of the United States, for monthly drill, for a court martial to investigate any "un-officer-like or un-military conduct," and for a "Board of Direction"—consisting of the commissioned officers and five other members—with power to change and amend the bylaws and to accept or discharge members. A fine of two dollars was to be imposed for absence from the annual meeting or from any parade, and a fine of fifty cents for absence from drill or a monthly meeting. Any member who became intoxicated at the time of a drill or a parade or who imbibed

¹Charles A. Ingraham, *Elmer E. Ellsworth and the Zouaves of '61* (Chicago, 1925).

too freely at a drinking house in St. Paul while dressed in uniform was to be punished by fine or expulsion.

When the guard was reorganized under state law on November 4, 1858, a new constitution was adopted for the purpose of "perpetuating those relations of harmony and friendship so essential to the prosperity of every volunteer association, and establishing on a firm and lasting basis the character and discipline of the company." One of the "Rules of Order" under the new constitution provided that no member while speaking in a meeting should mention another member by name, but should describe his position in the company or refer to him as, for instance, the gentleman on the opposite side of the question. Nor should anyone "resort to personalities or ungentlemanly remarks to, or in relation to another member."² The new bylaws listed fines for nineteen different types of neglect or violation of rules. For instance, the secretary was to be fined one dollar for neglecting to send or bring his books to a meeting. The committee on accounts seems to have had difficulty in collecting fines. In March, 1859, members in arrears were notified that unless they paid fines or dues charged against them or gave written excuses for failing to do so before the next monthly meeting their names would be stricken from the membership list.³

At the very outset the members of the guard were so enthusiastic that they drilled twice a week. A few weeks after they organized, the following item appeared in a local newspaper:

We were present the other evening at drill, and were pleasantly surprised at the skill displayed by the members. The "Pioneers" make a pleasure of learning the routine of military exercises and they will soon attain a degree of proficiency to appear in public with credit.

² The manuscript constitutions of the Minnesota Pioneer Guard, adopted under territorial and state law respectively, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

³ Minnesota Pioneer Guard, Minutes, March 22, 1859, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

When the cornerstone of a building for the Minnesota Historical Society was laid in 1856, the members of the guard did not take part in the ceremonies because their uniforms, ordered some time earlier, had not arrived. For what would be the fun of marching in a parade if one could not strut along in a striking uniform? Fortunately the uniforms arrived the day before the Fourth of July. Each consisted of a blue, single-breasted dress coat with three rows of gilt buttons and bindings of orange-colored cord; sky-blue pants with broad orange stripes down the legs; and a hat of the army pattern with an orange pompon for the privates and a plume of the same color for the officers.⁴

On July 4, 1856, about thirty-five members of the guard in full parade uniform appeared at the armory and they marched thence through some of the principal streets of St. Paul to the Capitol. There they were received by a special committee and conducted to seats in the room used by the supreme court, where the exercises of the day were held. "We think the 'Guard' made a fine appearance," commented a local newspaper reporter, "and their evolutions and manoeuvres while upon the street would have done no discredit to a company much longer accustomed to the drill." At a military dress ball in the evening they again appeared in full uniform, though white pantaloons had been substituted for the blue ones, and they remained standing until the ladies and the citizen guests had dined. Dancing until the "wee small hours" followed the dinner. This "magnificent affair" was much to the guards' taste, so a similar party was given on the evening of the next Thanksgiving Day. On that occasion "the music was excellent—the supper sumptuous—the company, the fairer portion of it, pretty, accomplished, and witty—the gents agreeable and polite."⁵

⁴ *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, May 19, June 26, 1856; *Pioneer Guard*, Minutes, April 17, 1856.

⁵ *Pioneer and Democrat*, July 7, December 1, 1856.



TITLE PAGE OF THE "RECORDS" OF THE MINNESOTA PIONEER GUARD
[From a manuscript volume in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



THE MINNESOTA PIONEER GUARD, 1858

[From a photograph in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]

The social activities of the guard and its proficiency in drill evidently made it the envy and admiration of others and stimulated the organization of similar groups. A company of Irish citizens of St. Paul, called Shields Guards, was organized on July 8, 1856. The Germans also intended to form a military company at this time, but nothing seems to have come of their plans. A St. Anthony newspaper announced on July 12, 1856, the organization of the Falls City Light Guards. Red Wing joined the movement with the organization of the Red Wing Rifles in March, 1857. After the Inkpaduta massacre of April, 1857, a member of the Red Wing company made an urgent appeal to the governor for arms.⁶

The Inkpaduta massacre probably would not have been the cause of widespread panic had there been well-trained volunteer military companies in the southwestern part of the territory. Inkpaduta was the leader of a small band of Sioux who fell upon a white settlement at Lake Okaboji in Dickinson County, Iowa, just south of the Minnesota line, and murdered over thirty settlers. With four women captives, the Indians moved into Jackson County, Minnesota, where they brutally murdered several more victims before fleeing to Dakota.

On April 10 a mass meeting was called in Mankato and addressed by a man who claimed to be an eyewitness of the massacre. From fifty to sixty men volunteered to go to the defense of the settlers. The next morning about thirty-five appeared at an appointed meeting place. "Some were rigged in the style of western hunters, with bright-colored shirts, and a belt full of pistols and knives; one had cut his coat away after the style of the dress uniform of an old country soldier." Two who were mounted wore military

⁶ *Pioneer and Democrat*, July 17, 1856; March 19, 1857; *St. Anthony Express*, July 12, 1856; Charles W. Beers to Samuel Medary, July 26, 1857, Governor's Archives, in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

gloves and boots and had bright-colored scarves tied across their shoulders and breasts. These volunteers started out to find the Indians, halting long enough at the Blue Earth River bridge to elect officers. They scoured the country and, since they were suspicious of all Indians, they began firing indiscriminately on all they saw or encountered. A burning straw stack near Garden City was enough to start a rumor that the entire town was being fired by the Indians. Many settlers in the vicinity fled to St. Peter and there, too, a volunteer company was organized.⁷

At Cambria a volunteer company of thirty or forty Welsh and German settlers marched against an Indian camp in the vicinity. A delegation conferred with the Indians, who declared that they had no connection with Inkpaduta. Evidently their word was accepted and there was no shooting. A member of the Judson volunteer company on guard duty thought he saw an Indian skulking through the brush and fired a shot. The people of the town hastily began to erect a fort. When someone grew bold enough to look for the Indian, he discovered a wounded horse.⁸

The St. Paul Light Cavalry Company, which was organized on April 15, 1857, received orders from the governor on August 20 to proceed to Rum River to protect the settlers from Indian degradations. Twenty-seven mounted men, "arrayed in red coats and white pants" and armed with heavy swords and army pistols, left St. Paul on August 25. On the twenty-eighth they encountered six Chippewa; a skirmish followed in which a soldier and an Indian were killed and another Indian was wounded. The five remaining Indians were taken to the Ramsey County jail, but four of them were released and the fifth escaped.⁹

There is evidence that volunteer companies also were or-

⁷William W. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 2: 223 (St. Paul, 1924); Thomas Hughes, *History of Blue Earth County*, 84 (Chicago, 1909).

⁸Hughes, *Blue Earth County*, 88.

⁹Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 325; James Starkey to Medary, 1857, Governor's Archives.

ganized at this time at South Bend, New Ulm, and Traverse des Sioux. The Scott Guards of Belle Plaine and the Carver Grays probably had their origin in this period. News that Indians were plundering settlers on the Watonwan River, twenty miles southwest of Garden City, reached the village late one day and resulted in the organization of the Garden City Sharpshooters. That same evening sixty men volunteered to form a militia company. A fund of a hundred dollars was raised and turned over to the captain and lieutenant for the purchase of arms and ammunition at St. Paul. The two men drove twelve miles to Mankato and thence took a steamer to St. Paul. They visited Governor Medary in the morning before he was out of bed, and then hurried to Fort Snelling to obtain sixty Springfield rifles and a supply of ammunition. Within thirty-six hours they were back in Garden City drilling their company. For two weeks the members drilled daily. Then they received letters from the governor and Indian agents in Minnesota informing them that no one had been killed in the last raid of the Indians and that two companies of regular infantry had been ordered to Fort Ridgely. The citizens of Minnesota Territory were ordered to refrain from any interference with the military force, since the secretary of war had disapproved of Governor Medary's plan to make use of a volunteer force to chastise the hostile Sioux.¹⁰

When the Indian scare passed over, many of the volunteer companies, including those at Belle Plaine, Cambria, Carver, Judson, and South Bend, probably ceased to exist; at least no information has been found on their activities after 1858. Even the Pioneer Guard's enthusiasm fell off to a considerable extent. For some time there were no business meetings or drills. A meeting was finally called on

¹⁰ Alonzo L. Brown, "Narrative of the Fourth Regiment," in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1:198 (St. Paul, 1890); Theodore E. Potter, "Recollections of Minnesota Experiences," *ante*, 1:431-435; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1857, p. 72, 77.

December 8, 1857, when there was some discussion about the merits of functioning during the winter. A motion was made and carried that the company adjourn sine die. The captain, arriving late, asked the members to reconsider the motion. A resolution was then adopted that the group meet in a week for drill and business. Meanwhile one committee was appointed to enlist new members and another was instructed to collect the uniforms of members who no longer intended to act with the company.¹¹

A new impetus was given to the organization of volunteer companies on June 15, 1858, when, in a special message to the legislature, the new governor, Henry H. Sibley, encouraged their organization. Referring to the Inkpaduta massacre, he stressed the need of military preparedness. Accordingly, "An Act to organize and discipline the Militia and Volunteer Militia" was passed by the legislature and approved by the governor on August 12, 1858. It provided that men enrolled in the volunteer militia should be the first to be ordered into service "in all cases of war, invasion, riot, or insurrection." Whenever forty men organized as a volunteer company, the governor, acting as commander-in-chief, was to appoint the commissioned officers of the company.¹² Six months later the following companies were reported as organized: Minnesota Pioneer Guard, City Guard, and Light Cavalry, all of St. Paul; and the Jackson Rifles, Stillwater Guard, Washington Light Artillery, Red Wing Rifles, Mankato Rifle Company, Garden City Sharpshooters, Little Falls Guard, St. Cloud Rifle Company, and companies at Blue Earth City and Traverse des Sioux. Regimental officers were said to be organizing companies at Hastings, Wabasha, Rochester, Taylor's Falls, Cambridge, Minneapolis, and Shakopee. A state encampment for review and inspection was to be held in July, when the crack companies were to compete in drill and discipline

¹¹ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, December 8, 1857.

¹² Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 26; *General Laws*, 1858, p. 231-254.

for the state colors, but these plans do not seem to have materialized.¹³

The later activities of the Minnesota Pioneer Guard probably are typical of those of other companies in the late fifties. On May 27, 1859, members of the guard went on a steamboat excursion to Minneapolis. After a trip of five hours the members and their guests were entertained at the Nicollet House with a dinner of roast turkey and champagne. This occasion brought forth an interchange of sentiments of goodwill from the citizens of St. Paul and of the two cities at the Falls of St. Anthony. After the dinner the guardsmen crossed the river to St. Anthony, where they marched and went through "intricate" maneuvers. A cotillon party in the evening ended the festivities. On board the steamer "Denmark" the next morning the members adopted resolutions expressing their thanks and commenting on the "bond of sympathy which should exist between . . . close neighbors and cities of such importance."¹⁴

The guard again combined social and military activities on the Fourth of July, 1859. At six o'clock in the morning its members met at the armory, and then marched through the streets to the boat landing and embarked on the steamer "Itasca." They intended to parade at Hastings and at Prescott, but were prevented by rain. The rain ceased before they arrived at Hudson and they were able to promenade before the admiring eyes of the residents of that village. At Stillwater, they were met by the Stillwater Guard and the Washington Light Artillery and were escorted to the parade grounds. There the companies competed in military maneuvers and exercises with arms. Lunch

¹³ *Red Wing Sentinel*, February 19, 1859. Between July 17, 1857, and February 4, 1859, the adjutant general issued arms to twelve companies in the following order: Waterman Guards, Fairfield Guards, Garden City Sharpshooters, Dakota City Guards, St. Paul Light Cavalry, Shelbyville Rifle Company, St. Cloud Rifle Company, Winona Artillery, Washington Light Artillery, Jackson Rifles, Stillwater Guard, and Dakota County Guard. Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1859, p. 10.

¹⁴ *Pioneer Guard*, Minutes, May 17, 27, 1859.

was then served, and the guests drank great quantities of iced champagne from tin dippers. In the evening a grand ball was held, and members of the Pioneer Guard were reluctant to leave when at twelve o'clock the steamboat bell sounded for the return trip.¹⁵

On January 2, 1860, the members of the guard formed a parade to escort the governor-elect, Alexander Ramsey, from the Winslow House to the Capitol for his inauguration. After the ceremonies they went to his residence, where refreshments were served, and they then ordered carriages and rode to the homes of Brigadier General Emerson and ex-Governor Willis A. Gorman. The procession from place to place was accompanied by a band.

The Pioneer Guard's band came into existence after a committee of five was appointed on November 30, 1858, to solicit subscriptions from St. Paul citizens for the purchase of instruments. By February 1 a hundred and fifty dollars had been contributed and the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED: That the Pioneer Guard justly appreciate so much kindness from the hands of the citizens of St. Paul, and hope, before many moons shall come and go, to be able to appear before them, a well drilled, efficient and spirited corps, with a band of music, whose stirring strains will lighten the carking cares of life, quicken the marshall spirit of our people, and add something to the life, the interest and gaiety of the young city of St. Paul.¹⁶

Since some members of the guard paid more attention to its social than to its military activities, a resolution was passed excluding from certain festivities members who had not attended the two previous drills.¹⁷ The guard often assisted in maintaining law and order. It was requested by the Ramsey County sheriff to be present at the hanging of a Mrs. Belanski, in order to "aid and protect him in the

¹⁵ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, July 4, 1859; *Daily Pioneer and Democrat*, July 6, 1859; *St. Paul Globe*, March 12, 1899.

¹⁶ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, November 30, 1858; February 1, 1859; January 2, 1860.

¹⁷ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, July 12, 1859.

discharge of a very unpleasant duty." The guardsmen appeared in uniform at the hanging in the courthouse square and their presence is believed to have prevented a public disturbance.¹⁸ In August, 1859, the adjutant general called upon the company to discharge a duty "of a very delicate and difficult nature, but not less incumbent on them than foreign aggression" by assisting in the arrest at Monticello of some notorious murderers who were responsible for what has been called the "Wright County War." At least a part of the guard's "line of march" to Monticello was covered in Burbank's four-horse express coaches. The company reached that village on the evening of August 6, and the next day the Stillwater Guard and the City Guard of St. Paul arrived. Police brought in three prisoners, who were taken to safe quarters by the Pioneer Guard. Since the county authorities believed that they could enforce the law without military assistance, the companies returned to their home cities. In St. Paul the Pioneer Guard proceeded to the Capitol, where the adjutant general thanked the members for their "prompt response to call, gentlemanly conduct, military deportment, and service to the state." He asserted that the promptness with which the company obeyed the orders to march to Wright County showed that it was ready for any crisis.¹⁹

The crisis of the Civil War put an end to the half-serious activities of the military companies. Their training, however, stood them in good stead. Even the two marching clubs, organized in St. Paul during the presidential campaign of 1860, had received some practical experience.²⁰ When the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached

¹⁸ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, March 20, 23, 1860.

¹⁹ Pioneer Guard, Minutes, August 4-11, 1859; *Pioneer and Democrat*, August 6, 8, 12, 13, 1859; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 29; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1860, p. 7.

²⁰ The Republicans were known as the "Wide Awakes," while the Democratic club went by the name of "Little Giants." J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey*, 396 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4—St. Paul, 1876).

Washington, Governor Ramsey, who happened to be in the national capital, immediately tendered to President Lincoln the services of a regiment from Minnesota. The governor then wired to Lieutenant Governor Ignatius Donnelly to issue a call for volunteers. Donnelly sent at once for A. T. Chamberlain, at that time captain of the Pioneer Guard, and suggested calling the company together. A meeting was called for the same evening, April 15, at the armory, which was packed with an excited crowd of citizens who hoped to join the guard. A vote was taken to determine whether or not the Pioneer Guard should enlist as a company. The vote was unanimously in the affirmative. Sixty men signed the enlistment roll, and the old Minnesota Pioneer Guard became Company A of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. The next morning Donnelly's call for volunteers was published. The first ten companies organized within ten days would be received into service. Preference, however, was to be given to the eight volunteer companies active at Chatfield, Mankato, New Ulm, St. Anthony, Clearwater, St. Cloud, St. Paul, and Stillwater. When the ten days had expired, three of the old companies—the Minnesota Pioneer Guard, the Stillwater Guard, and the St. Anthony Zouaves—were ready for active service.²¹

The experiences of the other companies probably were similar to those of the Clearwater Guard, which met on April 22, 1861. When a vote was taken on whether or not to volunteer its services to the government, the result was twenty yeas, twenty-three nays, and eleven absent. Sixty-four privates and fourteen officers were required to make up a company, and it did not seem likely that the ranks could be filled in the required time. As a result the

²¹ *History of the First Regiment, Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1864*, 1-3 (Stillwater, 1916); Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1861, p. 231; John D. Hicks, "The Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861 with Special Reference to Minnesota," *ante*, 2: 332.

Clearwater volunteers were advised to join other organizations.²²

Most of the ten companies accepted for the First Minnesota regiment had been organized prior to the Civil War. These companies, in addition to the three already mentioned, were the St. Paul, Red Wing, Wabasha, and Winona volunteers, the Lincoln Guard of Minneapolis, the Faribault Guard, and the Dakota County Guard of Hastings.²³ With the exception of Faribault, all the places represented had seen volunteer military organizations at one time or another.

References to thirty-seven volunteer companies in Minnesota have been found by the present writer. The histories of all may not be as interesting as that of the Minnesota Pioneer Guard, but each was a factor in the social life of a frontier community, each met in one way or another special local needs, and each gave to its members a basic training in military drill.

GERTRUDE W. ACKERMANN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

²² Clearwater Guard, Minutes, April 22, 1861, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. A copy of the constitution of this company precedes its minutes.

²³ *History of the First Regiment*, 6, 7.

EARLY COLLEGE SILHOUETTES¹

Kindly turn back with me to the fall of 1872 and imagine a callow youth of seventeen receiving his first impressions of college life from the crude beginnings of what is now, in attendance, the fourth college in the United States—the University of Minnesota.

The "school," as it was then spoken of by both faculty and students, was little more than a high school or preparatory academy with only two hundred students. The administration offices, classrooms, chapel, and dormitories were centered in the "Old Main," which was the chief building on the campus. It was an imposing structure of native blue limestone, three stories in height, with a high basement and heavy wooden cornices. It was built by the state on the present site of Shevlin Hall as the home of the new university in 1853–54, but was disused and neglected during the great depression of 1857 and the period of the Civil War. It then presented an unfinished and uncouth front to University Avenue and was entered by a flight of iron steps on the southeast corner. The chapel was on the upper floor at the rear overlooking the Mississippi River gorge through five or six windows. It was a bleak room entered at the side, with the faculty rostrum—a low semi-circular dais, requiring only five or six chairs for the entire faculty—at the east end.

In the fall of 1869, William Watts Folwell came from the faculty of Hobart College at Geneva, New York, enthusiastic over his Herculean task of building up from modest beginnings the democratic college of the new commonwealth of Minnesota. Within five years, that is, by the second commencement in 1874, he had managed to obtain

¹ Dr. Leonard, the author of this account of early conditions in the University of Minnesota, was graduated from that institution in 1876. *Ed.*

a legislative appropriation to build on the Old Main a cupola and an addition at the front which enlarged it by a third, thus making available a bigger chapel and more classrooms. He also had gained respect for the school, which was attracting an increasing attendance from the young people of Minneapolis and St. Paul. But most of these students did not intend to graduate from so unimportant a place; those who did go through the whole course were usually from outside the cities. Indeed the local high schools ignored the university as of little account until Dr. Folwell obtained the enactment of his high school law, which has since been copied throughout the Union. This provided that such schools as came up to certain standards of excellence should receive state aid. They became direct feeders to the university, for their graduates could enter the university without examination. The new chapel occupied the second and third floors of the addition to the Old Main. It held some seven hundred persons and was large enough for most convocations and even for commencement exercises.

President Folwell, the energetic captain of this budding college, when he came to Minnesota was, as is told in detail in his *Autobiography*, a somewhat experienced teacher and an observing scholar who had spent a year or more abroad and had attained in the Civil War the brevet rank of lieutenant colonel of United States Volunteers. The men of his corps, although of course unarmed, were occasionally under fire when building pontoon bridges and other structures. He was ever industrious and efficient, giving attention to many details that seemed beneath the notice of a college president. For instance one morning in chapel he requested the students who had removed (not stolen) the red lanterns which the contractors had placed along the excavation for the new basement to please return them at once to avoid the expense of a new set on the part of the university. They were not returned. The students believed it all a

prank of mischievous town boys and let it go at that. Dr. Folwell's military brusqueness impressed the students, but his broad scholarship was more noteworthy, making it possible for him to fill in without notice during any professor's absence. Thus one day, after he had heard translations from a text he had not seen in years, he gave Professor Brooks's Greek class a delightful account of his year's wanderings in Greece.

The president knew the full name of every student and he always addressed them by their two given names—Henry Clay, Julius Elliott, William Edwin, and the like. Although his parents were Methodists, his fealty during his long life was to the Episcopalian communion. It was characteristic of him, as he argued in his youth with his devoted mother, to choose an orderly and conservative doctrinal basis for his belief and necessarily to include in it the Apostolic succession.

The chapel exercises in the early days of the university were held before the classes began each morning at eight o'clock. They were compulsory for all and consisted of a reading from the Bible and a prayer. Services were conducted in routine by members of the faculty, many of whom had been or were clergymen. When the president appeared, we knew the service would be brief. A short Scripture lesson would be followed invariably by the shortest prayer in the Collect, that of St. Chrysostom. This he would repeat rapidly, keeping his eyes open to all that might be going on in the chapel, and the "Amen" would often be followed immediately by "So-and-So will report to me in my office at once after chapel." One morning the whole assembly awaited in solemn silence while a student went to the president's house for a black tie which Dr. Folwell had forgotten to put on as usual.

The senior professor of those days was the head of the department of Greek, the Reverend Jabez Brooks, who was president of Hamline University in its early days in Red

Wing, a graduate of the great Methodist school in Middletown, Connecticut, and a devout follower of John Wesley. His chapel exercises were never brief. His students had a wholesome awe of his clear blue eyes and his dry satirical humor, but they found him ever appreciative of honest class work. When he told an anecdote, it usually had a heavy classical flavor. One of his stories told of a man who found himself in a strange church early Sunday morning before the service began and was hesitating about where to seat himself, when the sexton accosted him, pointing down the long aisle: "Why not take any seat that suits you?" "Pew-door [*pudor is the Latin word for modesty*] prevents," answered the stranger.

Versal J. Walker of the Latin department was a much beloved and devoted teacher who was very efficient in bringing out and developing the characters of his students as well as in grounding them in Latin. No one thought of trifling in his classroom, where there was iron discipline and no humor except his own. A student was stumbling over the meaning of the adverb "apte." "Can anyone else put your hat on rightly for you?" shouted the professor. "No! Well, you put it on 'apte.'" His rather sudden death in May of 1876 was the first break in the faculty and was a memorable college event. A stately service was attended by the professors and students, and a memorial window was subscribed for. Professor Walker's tombstone was one of the few left in position when the East Side Cemetery was converted into a city park, and it is still to be seen just off Broadway in northeast Minneapolis.

Professor Edwin J. Thompson of mathematics was a popular, rather easy-going man whose students did not necessarily have their work driven in to stay. The professor of English, after the first ponderous Donaldson, was Moses P. Marston, a calm, scholarly man from Vermont, who earnestly strove to make his students appreciate and grow fond of their native English literature. His was no easy task,

for his work then included elocution, the training of speakers, and the arranging of debates. Early in the history of the university, even up into the eighties, there existed two rival literary and debating societies, the Philomathian and the Delta Sigma. What these two Greek letters signified I never knew, although I belonged to that band. Professor Marston was ever ready to assist with advice and training in the preparation of our programs. These societies served a very useful purpose in teaching us to talk when upon our feet.

The university has been coeducational from the very beginning, and in its first years almost as many women as men were registered.

Dr. Folwell never approved of the location of the university in a large city and he advanced definite plans for its removal to a magnificent tract in the region of upper Lake Minnetonka, where noble buildings would have had an ample setting near water vistas and where city life could be kept at a distance. He did not get support sufficient to carry out this plan. Indeed, the original charter located the university in Minneapolis, the capitol in St. Paul, and the state prison in Stillwater. As Alexander Ramsey said at the first university commencement, "They tried to send all the rascals to Stillwater from the very beginning."

There were no streetcars in Minneapolis until 1874 and these did not at first go as far as the university. It was therefore necessary for students from the west side to go on foot or by private conveyance to reach the campus, two and a half miles over the stone arch and Nicollet Island bridges. Some of us who lived south of Nicollet found it shorter, although contrary to the admonitions of our parents, to walk over the mill platform at the foot of Cataract Street, now Sixth Avenue South, and across a narrow foot bridge built for the convenience of east side workmen just at the crest of the Falls of St. Anthony. Crossing this temporary, swaying structure, two and a half feet wide, was

extremely risky on a frosty morning. Later the cantilever bridge at Tenth Avenue South still further shortened the walk, for we could then skirt along the river on lower Main Street, a way long since abandoned, and come out at the back of the old campus. The shortening of the trip was a very important matter in our freshman and sophomore years, when we had to report for drill, which was then compulsory, at half past seven. Not seldom did we westerners arrive with frosted ears, noses, and fingers, and the fact that no time was allowed for thawing out our members did not teach us to love military drill.

Members of the small faculty of the early days of the university were anchored by their families to homes about the east side and they could not change their place of residence often, since salaries were never munificent. Soon assistants and instructors became necessary and changes were more frequent.

By the time of the burning of the Old Main in 1907, there were several other buildings on the campus—Pillsbury Hall, Mechanic Arts, the old Law Building, and the old Library Building. Folwell Hall, the Physics Building, the Armory, and others were erected some years before the present group of fine structures began to adorn the greater and newer campus.

The first commencement, on June 19, 1873, was held in the Academy of Music at Hennepin and Washington avenues. There were only two graduates, Warren C. Eustis and Henry M. Williamson. Following the exercises, a dinner was given by the city of Minneapolis at the Nicollet House; it was attended by the governor and other prominent men of the state, and it was marked by many witty speeches. Other features of this first commencement were the stirring music of the Fort Snelling band and a "president's levee" at Dr. Folwell's residence near the university. Commencements were held for a time thereafter in the chapel of the Old Main and later in the new Armory.

The small faculty of 1873, consisting of eight professors and four assistants, most enterprisingly combined the work of many modern chairs. Professor Gabriel Campbell, who was later to finish a long and honorable career as professor of philosophy at Dartmouth College, was not only "professor of mental and moral philosophy," but instructor in the natural sciences and in French. Arthur Beardsley appeared in 1871 to teach civil engineering and industrial mechanics. These combinations were made necessary by meager salaries and were a part of the infant history of the university. The first woman on the faculty was Miss Helen Sutherland, assistant professor of Latin and preceptress, who was for many years a beloved figure on the campus and the forerunner of Maria Sanford, Ada Comstock, and many others.

There were no sports on the campus and college life did not exist outside the classrooms in the early days, each student going to his home or rooming house like a child after school was out. I cannot chronicle the beginnings of football, basketball, and other college sports, for they came after my day, about in the eighties. Our only common recreations were afforded by the debating societies already mentioned and by class exhibitions and literary and oratorical programs. The latter made so much trouble that they were forbidden after a second attempt in 1877. The business of attending the university in the seventies was a serious occupation admitting of little amusement or frivolity. No one then attended for the social life. The first fraternity, Chi Psi, was founded in 1874.

Dr. Folwell's sixteen years of arduous pioneering laid well the foundation for later time. His foresight and able planning made the career of his successor, Dr. Cyrus Northrop, who superintended the amazing expansion of the university, much easier than it otherwise could have been. The college in America is rare that has been privileged to keep, after his resignation as president, so broad a scholar and so industrious a student as Dr. Folwell. He was for years

on the faculty, he wrote four classic volumes of the *History of Minnesota* after his eightieth year, and he only put aside his self-appointed tasks, as bright and untiring as ever, at ninety-six years. His brief and modest *Autobiography*, dictated to his daughter as one of his last acts, only hints at a few of the many activities of his busy and varied life in the city, state, and nation.

For the years 1871 to 1873 inclusive, the university published, instead of an annual catalogue, an *Almanac* "computed especially for Minnesota." Its issues are full of curious and useful information, as almanacs should be; they contain material on politics and national affairs, the exact dates of important events of Minnesota history, and finally lists of faculty members and of the courses offered by the university. The first published roll of students, issued for the year 1874-75, contains the names of 217 students. The majority were enrolled in the scientific, not the classical or the modern departments, foreshadowing the lessening study of the classics so notable of late years. A few students were then taking civil engineering, and one was studying elementary agriculture. He attended classes in a lone building at the east end of the campus. Classes in agriculture were later transferred to the highly successful school of agriculture in St. Paul with its hundreds of students.

One day in 1875 our studies were interrupted by the burning of the farmhouse down on the east campus, long since sold. The volunteer fire department of the east side had to make a long trek to reach the fire. While waiting for the department, a little group of scared boys stood gaping at the fast-spreading flames some two hundred yards away. Suddenly one of the seniors shouted, "Boys, it behooves us to do something," and we stampeded to form a bucket corps at the farm well.

For the convenience of those who drove over from the west side, the university maintained a row of horse sheds east of the Old Main about where the old Library stands.

There were not enough sheds for all occasions and Andrew R. Cass, the janitor at Main, later of Brainerd, had to settle many disputes over the division of space.

It was part of the training even of the classical men to take an actual hand in surveying, using chain, pins, and compass. In that exercise I recall making a map of the original campus of thirteen and a fraction acres, a fine irregular tract of rolling land covered originally with burr oaks. Contrast that with the two hundred or more acres of the present campus.

In 1876 a special university bulletin was issued, containing the following announcement: "University of Minnesota; Faculty of fifteen; tuition free to all; new buildings completed. The University possesses an experimental farm, a general library of 10,000 volumes, a museum, a chemical laboratory, and a supply of physical apparatus, engineering instruments etc. etc."

President Folwell was from his very first day in the university personally concerned with building up the library. The fine new Library Building contains an appreciation of his long service, a room of his own, which he used up to the very last. It is a remarkable fact that when his end came in 1929, he had lived through the entire life of the institution, seeing its five presidents come and go. Only two had died in all the years. Most state institutions have advanced with many instead of few presidents. Minnesota has been favored by having but five men, all of exceptional merit, to guide her for sixty-six years. In these years the senior classes have increased from two in 1873 to the scores and hundreds, until the university has now a body of some twenty thousand alumni scattered over the face of the earth.

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SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

SPORTING MAGAZINES

A neglected source of historical information about the Northwest is to be found in periodicals devoted to recreation and outdoor life. Conspicuous alike for their content and for the caliber of their editorship are two nineteenth century sporting magazines published in New York City—the *Spirit of the Times* and *Forest and Stream*.

William T. Porter established the *Spirit of the Times* on December 10, 1831, and until his death in 1858 he was the "spirit" of that journal and of a later publication, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*.¹ As its subtitle implies, the *Spirit of the Times* was "A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage." *Forest and Stream* was founded and edited for seven years by Charles Hallock, a scientist-journalist. The first issue of this magazine appeared on August 14, 1873.² Some idea of the variety of

¹ The *Spirit of the Times* was published until June, 1861. Porter severed his connection with it in August, 1856. In September of that year he became editor of a new publication, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, which ran until February, 1860. The Minnesota Historical Society has a file of the *Spirit of the Times* extending from April 26, 1845, to February 7, 1857 (volumes 15 to 26). It has also *Porter's Spirit of the Times* from September 6, 1856, to February 28, 1857 (volume 1). Volumes 12, 13, 15, and 29 of the *Spirit of the Times* are in the library of the University of Minnesota. For a sketch of Porter see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 15: 107.

² In May, 1877, *Forest and Stream* merged with the magazine *Rod and Gun*, and for a time thereafter the title of the publication was *Forest and Stream & Rod and Gun*. Later it again assumed the title *Forest and Stream*. The Minnesota Historical Society's file of this publication extends from August 14, 1873, to July 31, 1879 (volumes 1 to 12) and from May 25, 1907, to March 12, 1910 (volumes 68 to 74). The Minneapolis Public Library has volumes 1 to 5, 9 to 18, 20 to 31, and 34 to 65. For a sketch of Hallock see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8: 156.

subjects with which it was concerned may be obtained by noting the sections into which it is divided. There are departments devoted to "Sea and River Fishing," "The Kennel," "Game Bag and Gun," "Furs and Trapping," "Yachting and Boating," "Woodland, Farm and Garden," "Billiards," and other pastimes and activities. In 1880, while visiting in the Middle West, Hallock founded in Kittson County, Minnesota, a town, called Hallock in his honor, which became a rendezvous for sportsmen.

Although these magazines were published in the East, they contain a surprisingly large amount of material of interest to the student of the history of the upper Mississippi Valley. Among the contributors to the magazines were numbered many sportsmen of and visitors to the Northwest. These correspondents not only related matters of interest to the sporting world but described the nature and development of "the remote wilds of the West" to an audience which, for the most part, was unfamiliar with the region. Writing under the name of "Hal—a Dacotah," Henry H. Sibley as early as the middle forties sent to the *Spirit of the Times* accounts of hunting expeditions in Minnesota and Iowa and sketches of Indian life. One may guess from the number of inquiries printed concerning the identity of "this favorite Far West correspondent" that his contributions were eagerly accepted and avidly read.⁸ In a series of articles in *Forest and Stream* entitled "Vacation Rambles in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota," Hallock describes

⁸ Of the articles that Sibley contributed to the *Spirit of the Times*, the following have been located: "Sketches of Two Hunting Excursions to the Red Cedar, Missouri Territory," April 16, 1842, and April 15 and June 17, 1843; "A Buffalo and Elk Hunt in 1842," April 11, 1846 (reprinted *ante*, 15: 385-394); "Hunting in the Western Prairies," April 17, 1847; "Sketches of Indian Warfare," March 11, 1848; "Hunting in the Northwest," April 1, 1848; and "Buffalo Hunting," January 4, 1851. Two contributions have been found in Porter's *Spirit of the Times*: "Game in the West," October 25, 1856; and "The Three Dakotas," a chapter from an otherwise unpublished work entitled "The Early Days of Minnesota," January 31, 1857.

these states of the Northwest as he saw them in the late seventies.⁴

A comprehensive picture of Minnesota as a sportsman's paradise is to be found in the numerous small items in both magazines describing fishing and hunting expeditions. Hunters shot elk, deer, wolves, rabbits, quail, partridge, woodcock, ducks, geese, curlew, plover, brant,⁵ grouse, prairie chickens, and other kinds of fowl; and fishermen obtained trout, pike, pickerel, black bass, catfish, sturgeon, and whitefish in the lakes and streams of the region.

Members of the Minnesota Historical Society will be interested to learn that J. Fletcher Williams, secretary and librarian of the society for twenty-six years, was a sportsman of no small repute. A description of a duck shooting expedition to Lake Koronis in Stearns County, on which he went with three other hunters, is contained in *Forest and Stream* for July 15, 1875. The writer of the account, one of the members of the party, describes the lake:

A beautiful sheet of water, miles in extent, with dense oak and maple forests extending down the sloping shores, and gracefully overhanging the water from a number of picturesque points. Numberless ducks dotted the surface of the lake, raising the expectations of our party in due proportion. To the east, and divided from Koronis by a narrow strip of land, the much talked of duck pass, lay Mud Lake, fairly alive with water fowl. . . . Among such surroundings it did not take long to select a suitable camping ground, and it being too early for the evening flight we busied ourselves making our camp snug and comfortable. Fine meadow grass, knee high, in which our steeds al-

⁴This series appears in the issues of *Forest and Stream* for October 18 to November 29 and December 6 and 13, 1877, and for January 3 to 24, 1878.

⁵There seems to have been and still to be some question as to whether the brant ever was found inland. Hunters, however, were evidently certain that they frequently obtained brant in the Northwest. A correspondent from Albert Lea writes in the February 28, 1878, issue of *Forest and Stream*: "I have seen in a late issue of your paper that some one is questioning the occurrence of the true brant away from salt water. We frequently kill them here. The Canada goose is very common here; next comes the brant (*Branta bernicla*), then the snow goose, white-fronted goose and Hutchins' goose. (I name them in the order of their number.)"

ready were luxuriating, made us a "scrumtious" bed, to use a favorite expression of W——, the well known Sec. of the State Historical Society, and a member of our party.⁶

While there are few illustrations in the magazine that relate to the Northwest, those that do occur are valuable. In the October 3, 1878, issue of *Forest and Stream* may be found two full-page engravings of the Minnesota state fair of that year and of the bench show and field trials held in connection with the fair. Hallock, who attended the fair, says:

There were to be seen aboriginal Indians with their implements of industry and weapons of the chase; furs, robes and hides, with the rude tools used in dressing them; stuffed specimens of wild animals; great structures created of the products of grain, which now grows luxuriantly on quondam buffalo ranges; wonderful implements of farm industry, doing the work of scores of men; steam threshers and self-binding harvesters, all showing the marvelous development of a very few years. Incidental and appropriate were the side shows, the team of elk in harness, the feats of wild horsemen in the saddle; the marvellous execution with rifle and shotgun; the rough riders, fox running, and coursing of hares. Scattered through all the great space, indoors and out, were the motley costumes of frontiersmen, voyagers, trappers, stock-raisers, soldiers, scouts, surveyors, half-breeds and Indians, all typical of the Far West and its recent change to civilization.

The student of agricultural history will be interested in the table of disbursements on and returns from a ten-thousand acre Minnesota farm for six years, which appears in *Forest and Stream* for March 21, 1878. The statistics were prepared by "a gentleman who has been in Minnesota for twenty-one years, and has not only planted grain over vast areas of prairie, but also numerous colonies of Swedish immigrants who are now well-to-do and prosperous." A few weeks later the editor announced that the table was "attracting earnest and widespread attention" and that the owner of the farm "beg[s] to refer to the advertisement

*A description of another game bird hunt that Williams accompanied is contained in an article entitled "Field Sports in Minnesota" in *Scribner's Monthly* for October, 1879.

printed in our paper under title \$30,000." The advertisement reads: "A gentlemen [sic] holding seventeen sections of the best grain land in Northwestern Minnesota, on the extension line of the St. Paul and Pacific R. R., wishes to find a capitalist with the above amount to join him in farming operations on an extensive scale."⁷

From these few illustrations it may be seen that magazines such as these provide a valuable source of information not only to the student of natural history, but to the social and economic historian as well.⁸

SELMA P. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
St. PAUL

⁷ The editor's notice and the advertisement appear in the issue for April 18, 1878.

⁸ Articles on sport in the Northwest also appeared frequently in literary as well as in other sporting magazines. See for example: "Autumn Game on the Prairies," in *Scribner's Monthly*, October, 1872; "Fishing and Hunting in the Northwest," in *Outing*, March, 1890; and Percy M. Cushing, "Echoes of the Wild Rice," in the *Outing Magazine*, September, 1912.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

HUNTING HISTORY BY AUTOMOBILE

Have you ever tried hunting history by automobile? If not, why not try it this summer. Unlike ducks and deer, the quarry is to be found, if one searches for it, at all times and in any part of the state, and there are no closed seasons.

Suppose we try the Minnesota Valley on our first excursion. High on the north bluff overlooking the mouth of the Minnesota River stands Fort Snelling, founded in 1819 as the extreme northwestern outpost of American authority. Across from the fort one may see Mendota, one of Minnesota's earliest settlements with its historic Sibley House, Minnesota headquarters of the great American Fur Company a century ago and home of the state's first governor, Henry Hastings Sibley.

Following one of the historic Red River trails, one passes up the valley to Traverse des Sioux State Park, the scene of the great Sioux treaty of 1851; to St. Peter, home of governors; to Mankato, where thirty-eight Sioux Indians paid with their lives for the outbreak of 1862; to beautiful Minneopa State Park; and to New Ulm, that interesting German community which saw such desperate fighting in the dark days of August 1862. Fort Ridgely, Redwood Falls, Wood Lake, Camp Release near Montevideo, and Chippewa-Lac qui Parle State Park are all names to conjure with in Minnesota history.

A second tour with interesting scenic as well as historical possibilities would take the traveler north from St. Paul on United States Highway Number 61. After crossing the old Sioux-Chippewa boundary line near Forest Lake, a short detour should be made on Highway Number 8 from Wyoming to Taylor's Falls, that interesting old lumber town, and to the Interstate Park. Thence back to the pavement

over Highway Number 95 and on through Mission Creek, Hinckley, Sandstone, and Moose Lake—towns that recall terrible forest fires which cost hundreds of lives—the trail leads to the St. Louis River on the old canoe route used by the fur traders bound for the headwaters of the Mississippi, to old Fond du Lac, where a Northwest Company fur-trading post was erected in 1793, and to Duluth at the head of Lake Superior.

Little need be said of the beauties and historic interest of the far-famed North Shore Drive through Two Harbors, with its gigantic ore docks, to Grand Marais and to old Grand Portage, the rendezvous of the Northwest Company traders in the late eighteenth century. Tower, where the first Minnesota iron ore was mined, Vermilion Lake, where men labored madly in the late sixties to find the gold which was reported to be abundant in the region, and the towns of the Mesabi Range, too, will furnish much of interest to the historically minded tourist.

Not far to the westward lie Leech Lake, Winnibigoshish, Cass Lake, and a thousand other lakes that were the paradise in years gone by of the fur trader and the Indian. It was at Leech Lake that Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, first American army officer to penetrate the region, shot down a British flag from the Northwest Company fur post at that spot in the winter of 1805–06 in token of the assertion of American authority in northern Minnesota. Through this region, too, journeyed Henry R. Schoolcraft and his missionary companion William T. Boutwell in 1832 on the expedition that culminated in the discovery of Lake Itasca as the source of the Mississippi River. Farther south is Mille Lacs, where Du Lhut visited the native Sioux in 1679 and to which Hennepin, emissary of La Salle, was brought the next summer.

Just west of Itasca State Park, with its wealth of virgin timber, one finds the great White Earth Indian Reserva-

tion, home of many Chippewa since its establishment in 1867, and the famous old Red River trail connecting the Mississippi River at Crow Wing with the Pembina country to the far northwest. The White Earth region, too, is rich in lakes and in glacial ridges that are relics of the days when the Red River Valley was covered with the waters of Glacial Lake Agassiz.

Swing south to Fergus Falls, the city that has sprung up splendidly from the ruins left by a great tornado; to Alexandria and Sauk Center, old stockaded towns on the stage route to Fort Abercrombie in the sixties; to the Norway Lake-Litchfield-Hutchinson area, where pioneers fought and died during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862; and on to beautiful Lake Minnetonka, famed summer resort in the region where Peter Gideon experimented with apple-growing to the lasting benefit of northwestern fruit-growers.

In the far southwestern corner of the state the red stone quarries at Pipestone extend a historic hand of welcome. Why not also visit Lake Shetek and Jackson, scenes of Indian disturbances in 1857 and 1862, and then go on through the southern tier of counties to Rochester and Winona before turning northward up the Mississippi River Valley through the old river towns of Reads Landing, Lake City, and Frontenac on beautiful Lake Pepin, to Red Wing, pioneer American town where Minnesota's first college was established in 1854. From Red Wing one may drive to the Twin Cities by way of Hastings, where stand today the ruins of a stone mill of the fifties, and Nininger, where the old Ignatius Donnelly home is a historic landmark.

Hunting history by automobile is a fascinating undertaking, and there is no community in Minnesota that is lacking in historical associations. Do not neglect to slow down when you see a black and white highway sign, "Historic Site Ahead," for just beyond there will be a special descriptive marker to call your attention to some interesting his-

toric site in the vicinity. Approximately a hundred such markers have been erected by the state highway department and the Minnesota Historical Society throughout the state. They have been set up to make your tours more enjoyable and interesting. Let's go touring!

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Sources of Culture in the Middle West: Backgrounds versus Frontier.

Edited by DIXON RYAN FOX. (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. 110 p. \$1.25.)

This volume is made up of three papers read at a meeting of the American Historical Association in 1933 by Professors Benjamin F. Wright, Avery Craven, and John D. Hicks, together with an introductory note by the chairman, now acting as editor, and some concluding "Remarks" by Professor Marcus L. Hansen. The titles of the papers are "Political Institutions and the Frontier," "The Advance of Civilization into the Middle West in the Period of Settlement," and "The Development of Civilization in the Middle West, 1860-1900." The choice of topic was a measure of reform, designed to restore to the sessions of the association something of that discussion of ideas proper to them but too often stifled by mere narration. But if the purpose was worthy, the choice was not altogether happy. For to set the problem whether the culture of the Middle West was original or derivative is, unless it be considered as a mere matter of fact, to run the risk of a rather barren debate upon the virtues of the frontiersman, and does not pose the right question if it is to be, as it was taken to be, the text for a discussion of the Turner thesis. So it needed Dr. Hansen's critical "remarks" to make the session really fruitful.

Turner may or may not have overestimated the virtues of the frontiersman, but anyhow that is not really a matter of great moment. The gist of this reading was that the frontier, for good or for ill, exercised a far-reaching influence, and the argument is not substantially modified by showing either that the West lacked originality in the sense that it derived both its institutions and its culture from the East, or that the East changed as well as the West. To discuss it in those terms is to pursue side issues. Whatever answers they lead to, the fact remains that the conjunction of a copious supply of undeveloped land and a migratory and rapidly increasing population, producing a constantly expanding market and a large demand for capital investment, goes far to explain the events of the last hundred years, and that not in the United States only. It was by these forces that

there was shaped not only the pattern of life in the eastern states and the pattern of American relations to the external world, but also in large measure the pattern of life in that further East which is north-western Europe. That which emerges from contemporary historical studies is not a revulsion from the doctrine of the frontier, but a development of it, what Dr. Hansen calls a "Neo-Turnerism," an appreciation, upon the one hand, that it was that complex of forces, loosely called the frontier, which was a prime factor in the production of the unification justly noted by Dr. Hicks as so significant, and an appreciation, upon the other, that what we now need is a study of the history of the Atlantic basin which shall be ready to recognize a Vermont in Ulster and in the Argentine a Middle Border. "American social history," said Dr. Hansen, "cannot be written until the social history of modern Europe has been written; and that has not been done. And so, gentlemen," he added, "I think that we should feel better if, instead of quarreling among ourselves, we should turn and face our common enemy. . . . I refer to our friends, the Americans engaged in the research and writing of European history." Neither can European history be written without an appreciation of what was happening across the Atlantic. The frontier was certainly not so unique as Turner supposed. It may very well also have been less virtuous and intellectually less original. But if he was in error about its importance, it was because he understated it. That the frontier profoundly affected the lives and stimulated both the "virtue" and the "originality" of millions who had never heard of it is becoming more and more obvious.

H. HALE BELLOT

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LONDON, ENGLAND

Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (Special Bulletins, I). Compiled by GRACE LEE NUTE, curator of manuscripts, Minnesota Historical Society, and GERTRUDE W. ACKERMANN, manuscript assistant, Minnesota Historical Society. (St. Paul, The Minnesota Historical Society, 1935. x, 146 p. \$1.25.)

Readers of MINNESOTA HISTORY have been aware for some time that a great store of manuscript material was being gathered in the

vaults of the Minnesota Historical Society. But even they are astonished at the extent and richness of the accumulation as revealed in the first published guide to the personal papers. Four hundred and fifty-five numbered entries describe collections that range in size from one to one hundred thousand pieces. Practically every aspect of the history of the state is touched upon. Missionary enterprises and church history, military expeditions in the Civil, Sioux, and World wars, Indian life, immigration, agriculture and dairy farming, transportation and travel, banking and engineering, civil service reform, politics, and social life in Mexico are some of the subjects dealt with in the first thirteen groups of papers—those listed under the letter *a* in the alphabetical grouping. These topics suggest the wide scope of material to be found in the collections and the great variety of people who have contributed to them.

The *Guide* is more than a mere inventory or list. Some of its distinctive features should be mentioned here. Index entries give the date of each person's birth and death, and indicate by style of type whether he is the author of the material or is merely referred to in it. Numerous subject headings conveniently guide the reader to material described in the text. The text itself shows the alphabetical grouping of the papers. For each collection there is given in concise form the earliest and latest date of the papers and a statement as to their physical form and extent and whether they are originals or some type of copy. A brief description of the contents of the papers follows, together with occasional suggestions as to their possible uses and an informal sketch of the author. Finally there is the reference to the more detailed description of the papers published in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* at the time of their acquisition.

In collecting these materials and publishing an analytical guide to their use the Minnesota Historical Society has performed a double service to historical scholars. It is noticeable that, while the manuscripts have been collected during a period of eighty years, by far the greatest part of them are the accumulation of the last twenty years, and more especially the last ten. This shows what can be accomplished even at this late date in building up a manuscript collection. While the collection is that of a state organization, the subject matter transcends political boundaries and furnishes source material for the study of a far wider area.

The industry and zeal displayed in collecting are matched by the careful work necessary in analyzing and synthesizing the material and in the editorial labor involved in the publication of such a volume as this.

ALICE E. SMITH

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

Voyageurs, Robes Noires, et Coureurs de Bois: Stories from the French Exploration of North America. Selected and edited by CHARLES UPSON CLARK, Ph. D. (New York, Institute of French Studies, Inc., Columbia University, 1934. xiv, 391 p. \$2.75.)

Here is an altogether new type of French textbook. Its subject matter is not fiction, but historical source material, and it gives the student an opportunity to combine a study of history with that of French—"to read easy French narrative, while enjoying vivid glimpses of early North America and its inhabitants, as seen through the keen eyes of French missionary and explorer."

The book consists of selections from Margry's *Découvertes et établissements* and Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*. They include writings of the Jesuits Crépeuil, Le Jeune, Lalemant, Rasles, and others, and of officials and explorers, among them Cadillac, La Salle, Joutel, Frontenac, D'Iberville, and Pénicaud; and they deal with such subjects as the difficulties of the early transatlantic passages, the privations and discomforts of the missionaries living among the Indians, Indian customs, manners, and oratory, the earthquake of 1663, difficulties between the French and the English, descriptions of eastern and middle America, the Quebec council of 1678 on the liquor traffic, and the often thrilling adventures of missionaries and explorers. Of Minnesota interest is La Salle's account of the visit of Michel Acault and Father Hennepin to the Minnesota country.

The text has been modernized "enough to avoid difficulty for the beginner," but the flavor of the original accounts has been retained. Each paragraph is numbered and supplied with a short topic heading in English. Notes following the text explain obscure allusions and unusual French words, and a bibliography points the way to further reading and study in the subjects dealt with in the book.

M. W.

Documents Relating to the North West Company (Champlain Society, *Publications*, no. 22). Edited with introduction, notes, and appendices by W. STEWART WALLACE, M.A. (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934. xv, 527 p. Illustrations.)

This volume comprises thirty-two documents and groups of letters that are important for a study of the Northwest fur trade from 1770 to 1826. By far the greater number of them have not previously appeared in print. Fourteen of the original manuscripts are in the archives of the Hudson's Bay House in London; twelve others are in the Public Archives of Canada or in archival depositories or libraries in Quebec, Montreal, or Toronto. Mr. Wallace's editorial work maintains the high standards of excellence that scholars have come to expect in the *Publications* of the Champlain Society, and the historical introduction and the valuable biographical sketches, which are included in an appendix, give ample evidence of his thorough acquaintance with the men who figured in the trade.

The contemporary records here published enable the student to trace what the editor terms the "constitutional history" of the Northwest Company. A letter written by Andrew Graham at York Fort in 1772 and selections from Mathew Cocking's journal kept at Cumberland House in 1776 and 1777 describe the first concentration of efforts among the "Canada pedlars" and supplement articles published by the editor in the *Canadian Historical Review* and by Marjorie G. Jackson in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* (*ante*, 11: 231-270). The formation of a sixteen-share company as early as 1779 is reported by Charles Grant, a Quebec merchant; and the evolution of a powerful commercial concern is detailed in a series of further agreements, notably the partnership agreements undertaken by Simon McTavish and Joseph Frobisher in 1787 and by members of the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company in 1799, and the Northwest Company agreements of 1790, 1802, and 1804. The last two are reprinted for convenient reference from L. R. Masson's *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*. The reorganization of the X Y Company under the leadership of Sir Alexander Mackenzie and its consolidation with the Northwest Company are described in agreements signed by the partners in 1803 and 1804. The division of the trading territory between the Northwest Company and the Montreal Michilimackinac Company is stipulated in the terms of a pact con-

cluded by the partners of the two companies on December 31, 1806, and the "absorption of the North West Company into the Hudson's Bay Company" is indicated in documents summarizing the agreement entered into by those firms in 1821. No attempt is made to contribute new documentary material relating to Lord Selkirk's struggle with the Northwest Company during the years from 1811 to 1820.

The minutes of the meetings held by the partners of the Northwest Company at Grand Portage and at Fort William from 1801 to 1814 contain many details which throw light upon the administration of the business. Lists show the assignment of partners and clerks to their several posts in different years and indicate the wages and equipments given to employees. Schedules of tariffs furnish specific information concerning the advances made in the prices of goods after they had been freighted from Montreal to the interior, and resolutions set forth the decisions of the partners on such questions as the admission of new members to the firm, the encouragement of clerks who were particularly aggressive, and the expulsion of Jean Baptiste Cadotte from the firm in 1803 for "neglecting his duty and indulging in drunkenness and Riot" at his post (p. 183). In contrast to this action a resolution passed in 1811 contains a vigorous protest against the efforts made by the "Saints in Parliament" to abolish the use of whisky in the trade (p. 268). Other resolutions urged measures of economy and made provision for the sending of an early brigade from Fort William to Montreal with furs from the posts about Lake Superior, a plan first carried out in 1805.

The larger importance of the fur trade in international relations is clearly indicated. Charles Grant's report to Sir Frederick Haldimand, governor of Canada, estimates an annual return to Great Britain of two hundred thousand pounds sterling in 1780 and asks protection for the Montreal merchants against the revolting colonies to the south. Letters written by Benjamin Frobisher in 1784 express his concern about the international boundary between Canada and the United States and the possible surrender of the upper posts on the lakes and tell of the search made by the traders to discover an all-British route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, which might be used as an alternative to the Grand Portage route. The relations of John Jacob Astor with the Montreal Michilimackinac Company

in the years preceding the War of 1812 are outlined in the agreement concluded by the American and Canadian firms in 1811, the provisions of which are included. Competition with Astor in operations on the Pacific coast is suggested in a few references to the development of the trade in the Columbia River region and to correspondence with government officials and the directors of the East India Company relative to securing a license to dispose of furs taken on the west coast by shipping them to China. The outbreak of the war with the United States is reflected in a resolution to send all available men to Rainy Lake to get the furs stored there down to Montreal and in measures of retrenchment by which a number of posts were abandoned and men were discharged from many others. The demands made upon the Red River department to provide pemmican for the support of stations which ordinarily received corn and flour from below also are recorded.

The volume contains a selected bibliography which includes the principal printed source materials touching on the history of the Northwest Company and a few articles and secondary works. The index is adequate for personal names, but it would be immensely more valuable if it were analytical as well. The book is one which every student of the fur trade will wish to have within easy reach.

CHARLES M. GATES

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The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume 1: *General* (Preliminary Printing); Volumes 2 and 3: *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803.* (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1934. xv, 37, xi, 694, v, 588 p. \$15, \$2.00, \$2.00.)

More than ten years after Congress passed the Ralston Act authorizing the collection, arrangement, and editing of papers relating to the territories of the United States, there now appear the first three volumes of what promises to be a major addition to the printed source material for the history of this country. Backed by historical societies and urged by numerous individuals interested in history, this project was actually got under way when Dr. Newton D. Mereness

began, in 1926, under the supervision of the department of state, the preliminary gathering, copying, and calendaring of the mass of documents to which attention had been drawn in 1911 by D. W. Parker's *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives Relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)*. The work stopped in 1928 when Congress failed to make an appropriation for its continuation, but in 1929 renewal was authorized, and in 1931 Dr. Clarence E. Carter assumed the editorship.

The three volumes now in print are properly but two, for volume 1, *General*, appears merely as a pamphlet, later to be expanded and issued in a format similar to the others. In its present printing it contains an introduction in which Dr. Carter gives a brief account of the enterprise and a statement of the policy pursued by him as editor. "Both the quantity and the character of the materials were such as to preclude an exhaustive publication," so selection was inevitable. In this selection the choice falls "mainly upon papers dealing with administrative matters" with emphasis chiefly on general rather than local units. Territorial laws already in print and judicial records not a part of the territorial archives are omitted; papers relating to Indian, military, or diplomatic affairs, most often having an indirect relation to administration, are included if they seem indispensable or reveal "a close relationship to the general subject in hand." "As a general rule papers heretofore published are omitted from this edition," although "papers which have been defectively printed in a material degree [for example, the *Ordinance of 1787*], or printed in editions now inaccessible are included . . . if such items come within the scope of the edition."

It is essential that users of this series note and bear in mind the limitations set by the editor; they will find consistency in the two volumes already at hand, even though they may perhaps be inclined to criticize the rules laid down. The burden of proof, however, will be upon the critic who will be called upon to propound some other and more satisfactory as well as practicable system of selection, for it is obvious that there had to be selection.

Following the introduction come a "Chronological List of Territories" and a "List of Territorial Officials, 1789-1872." It is planned to make the latter list complete in the definitive edition. Moreover, in the final edition of this volume there will be included

"Papers of a General Character Relating to the Territories" and a "General Bibliography."

This review may seem to devote disproportionate space to the slim *General* volume and to slight the two bulky volumes of documents themselves; nevertheless to the reviewer it seems essential that potential readers, or rather users, of the last should know the guiding principles upon which the compilation is based. Furthermore it is always difficult to review adequately a compilation of documents except from the point of view of their illustrativeness, their inclusiveness, and the effectiveness of their editing. The actual materials are as diverse as the problems arising in the pioneer excursion of the new country into the intricacies of pseudo-colonial administration. Only a hint can be given of what is to be found.

There must not be overlooked the famous ordinance from which started all our territorial experimentation. For the first time, Dr. Carter believes, this document is here printed as it actually stands in the manuscript. The explanatory notes make it not a mere reproduction of what has been printed so many times, but a veritable essay, a critical study of a significant piece of legislation, and this in itself bears testimony to the careful editing which characterizes the two volumes.

General Arthur St. Clair, governor from 1788 to the eve of Ohio's admission as a state when, as the climax of growing contention in the territory, he was removed from office by President Jefferson, moves through all these pages. These documents, supplementing the *St. Clair Papers*, long since in print, will afford an opportunity for reappraisal of a man who has been a subject of historical controversy. The student of the public land policy may find here additional light on the early aspects of a foremost national issue in its formative years. The tribulations of the French settlers at Gallipolis, the relations of the big land operators like Cutler and his associates or Judge Symmes and his Ohio Company, the trials of those in charge of the surveys, and many another aspect of the public land question are peeping out of these documents. Symmes himself appears many times, both as an official and as a land speculator; a man of whom Governor St. Clair did not have the highest opinion. "It is of vast importance to the people," St. Clair wrote in 1799 to the secretary of state, "and may be of no little to the United States, that the Chief Justice

should be a thorough lawyer, — an independent Man in his principles, and uninterested in the Suits that come before the Court, which will not, I am afraid apply to Judge Symmes in any of the instances, and as to the last, — he is either mediately or immediately interested in all where the sale of Land comes into question."

Indian affairs of necessity fill a considerable part of the correspondence from 1788 to 1793 or 1794, for the governor was also superintendent of Indian affairs, and those were troublous days on the frontier. Glimpses of Spanish intrigue and more than one reference to relations of the British and the Indians are here. Additional grist for the student of the fur trade can also be found.

A large part of volume 3 is made up of the "Journal of Executive Proceedings of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, including the First and Second Stages of Territorial Government, 1788-1803." This journal, here printed for the first time, is taken from the original manuscript found in 1931 and deposited with the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society. Edmund Randolph was speaking of this journal, of which copies were forwarded periodically to the secretary of state, when he wrote President Washington in January, 1794: "It is very little more, than a history of bickerings and discontents which do not require the attention of the President" (2:472).

One can dip in here and there and nearly always bring up a tidbit; one can almost, though not quite, see the history of the Old Northwest unrolling in these pages. But, after all, these books are the tools of the student and as such they are tools of precision. Through both volumes there is meticulous cross-referencing and each volume has a compendious index. These indexes, by the way, are likely to be thumbed by the genealogical investigator, for they are replete with the names of early Ohio settlers and they contain many as well from the fringes of settlement on the Mississippi and elsewhere.

The editor is to be congratulated for the successful accomplishment of a difficult task. Congress in appropriating the money, the department of state in undertaking the job, and the Government Printing Office for putting out a decent looking book all share in the thanks of students who will use the *Territorial Papers*.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Land Utilization in Minnesota: A State Program for the Cut-over Lands (Committee on Land Utilization, *Final Report*). (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1934. xiv, 289 p. Maps, tables, figures.)

A Program for Land Use in Northern Minnesota: A Type Study in Land Utilization. By OSCAR B. JESNESS, REYNOLDS I. NOWELL, and associates. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1935. xvi, 338 p. Maps, tables, figures. \$2.50.)

The results of wasteful land policies that in the past have permitted the exploitation and spoliation of the nation's wealth in soil, water, timber, minerals, and other natural resources are well exemplified in northern Minnesota, where millions of acres, mostly of swamp and cut-over land, are reverting to the state through tax delinquency, farms are being abandoned, and the population is burdened with heavy taxes and the local governments with huge debts. The state is now faced with the problem of restoring some measure of productivity to this new public domain and of reconstructing the social and economic life of the communities of the region on a stable basis. It is with this problem and its solution that the volumes under review are concerned.

The two volumes include much of the same general background material. They review the factors contributing to the general situation—the devastation of forests, the indiscriminate drainage of swamps, the overexpansion of agriculture, haphazard settlement, and the premature and overambitious development of public services; they describe the natural characteristics of the region and present conditions with reference to agricultural development, the use of forest lands and products, recreational development, taxation and tax delinquency, public finance, and government; and they offer programs—similar in the main—for the future use of the land and for the reorganization of the governmental structure to meet future conditions. Both volumes include numerous and excellent maps, graphs, and tables.

The earlier volume, which is the report of a committee appointed to make specific recommendations for the use of the state government in formulating a land policy for northern Minnesota, is the more general in its treatment of the subject. The essential differences

between the two volumes are pointed out in the preface to the later study: "While the committee drew upon the results of previous research, it did not institute an independent survey. The present report presents the results of a specific research study in the field of land utilization . . . carries the analysis of some problems further . . . and includes material not available at the time the former was written."

Because of these differences and its superior organization, *A Program for Land Use in Northern Minnesota* will, perhaps, be found the more useful of the two studies as a basis for the solution of the problems concerned. The authors give considerable attention to land classification and rural zoning, which "provides a method for directing new settlement to the better agricultural lands and for effecting a rational redistribution of the population." A series of maps, one for each of the fourteen northeastern counties, makes a tentative classification of the lands into "conservation" and "agricultural" zones. Recommendations are made for the improved use and management of agricultural lands and of forests, both private and publicly owned. The problems involved in moving farm families from poor to better land are discussed and the procedure for a settler relocation project is suggested. A chapter on "Adjustments in Local Government" offers suggestions for the consolidation of government units and for the reorganization of their functions. Recommendations for putting the program into effect, through legislation and other means, are made in a concluding chapter.

MARY WHEELHOUSE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

Early Life of Eric Norelius (1833-1862): Journal of a Swedish Immigrant in the Middle West (Augustana Historical Society, Publications, no. 4). Rendered into English by EMEROY JOHNSON. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Book Concern, 1934. 320 p. Portrait.)

The primitive agricultural methods of the early nineteenth century yielded the sturdy Hälsingland peasants the physical necessities. Lack of initiative and planning prevented a greater abundance. Fear of the unseen trolls filled the children with sheer fright. Nothing

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had as yet stimulated a greater political interest. The people revered the church and the king. There was as yet no demand for better educational facilities or for greater opportunities, today considered well-nigh indispensable. Still, a vague, adventurous desire for improvement stirred the people to emigrate. They did not foresee the cost. In the United States they lived under conditions they would not have tolerated in Sweden. But the new opportunities incited an initiative and aggressiveness unknown in Sweden. Such is the story that Eric Norelius tells.

Norelius came to the United States in 1850, a penniless boy of seventeen. Twenty-five years later he had risen to the highest ecclesiastical position which his people could bestow. In spite of his slight scholastic training he possessed a keen appreciation of historical values. He devoted his life to the preservation of the material essential for the portrayal of the achievements of his people. The *Early Life of Eric Norelius* is a part of this record.

How reliable are the memoirs of "an old man, in his eighty-third year"? Norelius himself answers the question: "There are many facts and events that we have seen or experienced in our childhood or youth which are remembered very vividly. This has been the writer's experience. Furthermore I have kept a diary since the fifteenth year of my life" (p. 8).

The translator has done his task well. The free, rather than literal, translation entices the reader's interest. Occasionally the liberties taken result in inaccuracies or ambiguities. The Swedish original certainly does not say "that the Russian bear was beginning to take a hand" in the Magyar struggle for independence in 1852 (p. 159). The reader may deplore the loose use of the terms "freeholder," "farmer," and "tenant" for *bonde* and *torpare*. But such faults do not impair the intrinsic worth of the book. The Augustana Historical Society is to be commended for presenting these memoirs to the American reader in such an attractive form.

J. OLSON ANDERS

BETHANY COLLEGE
LINDSBORG, KANSAS

Autobiography of Mary Jane Hill Anderson, Wife of Robert Anderson, 1827-1924. (Minneapolis, privately printed, 1934. 39 p. Portrait.)

More interesting than many a short story are the modest memories of this Minnesota pioneer woman written for her children at the venerable age of ninety-five. In a series of skillfully selected anecdotes, Mrs. Anderson describes her Presbyterian childhood and youth in County Cavan, Ireland, the six weeks' trip aboard a sailing vessel from Liverpool to New Orleans with her husband in 1850, the terror of a storm at sea, the escape from cholera on the Mississippi River boat which took them to Galena, the difficulties involved in taking up land four years later near Eden Prairie in Hennepin County, and the thirty-five years of living on that farm.

Concise, factual glimpses of economic conditions from the rural viewpoint are frequent. Eighteen years passed before the Andersons could exchange their log cabin for a frame house. To obtain final title to the land they had to borrow two hundred dollars at twenty-five per cent interest. This debt was repaid by selling cranberries from their own bog at a dollar a bushel. So exorbitant was the cost of materials that building a church became a gigantic undertaking for the community. For example, a hundred and sixty pounds of beef, the equivalent of six dollars and forty cents, were required to pay for the lock and hinges for a door.

Sufficient reward for reading this *Autobiography* lies in the charm of Mary Jane Anderson herself. Her portrait, the only illustration, reveals a face so full of the richness of living that one is not surprised when she concludes by saying that she has "few regrets for the past, and no fears for the future."

The text is marred by a few typographical errors.

LEONE INGRAM

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Among the Wheelock Papers recently presented to the Minnesota Historical Society by Miss Ellen Wheelock of St. Paul (see *post*, p. 215) is a letter written by Joseph A. Wheelock to his wife from St. Cloud on September 4, 1863, while he was on his way to the Old Crossing of the Red Lake River, where he was to serve as secretary to a treaty commission headed by Alexander Ramsey. This letter was quoted in part by Miss Ella Hawkinson in an article on the treaty published in a recent number of this magazine (see *ante*, 15: 286). Since a number of inaccuracies occurred in the passage as quoted, the main body of the letter is presented below in lieu of detailed corrections. It will be noted that the letter gives a vivid and unusual word picture of Bishop Henry B. Whipple. Wheelock, the well-known editor and founder of the *St. Paul Press*, was a shrewd observer and a gifted writer. In this letter he first tells of his arrival at St. Cloud on the evening of September 3 and then goes on to describe the journey:

I had a couple of charming *Compagnons du voyage* in Bishop Whipple and a friend of his, named Tiffany from Philadelphia, one of those wild cosmopolitan Americans of fortune, who like the English Scions of Aristocracy, roam over the world with a gun and fishing tackle hunting for something in the Animal Kingdom to kill. I found the Bishop whom I had never met before a most delightful chatty fellow. He entered the coach at the International smoking a sweet briar pipe, and introduced himself to me on the car, where he reminded me what I had forgotten that we had had some correspondence last winter. We three the Bishop, Tiffany and I rode outside of the Coach from Minneapolis upward, and a jolly old time we had of it. Tiffany has spent a great deal of time in Europe and especially in England, and though a rough looking and rough talking fellow till he got fairly running, when he did get in a strain was better worth listening to than half the books of tourists are worth reading. A cultivated, keenly observing gentleman—and chock full of the results of the observations which such a man bestows on the world he passes through. The Bishop himself, whose sweet briar pipe and free and easy manner rather upsets one's conceptions of episcopal dignity, was *en rapport* with his sporting friend on questions of game. In fact I found the Bishop belonged to the muscular School of Christians and believes devoutly in the Trinity and Isaak Walton the "Church" and Prof.

Wilson, (the Noctes Ambrosium Wilson), who he confessed was his beau ideal. I am thoroughly in love with the Bishop and belong to his Church. We chatted unintermittently all day ranging through all possible fields of Literature, Theology, Ichthyology, Ornithology, Zoology, History and everything which the sights of the frontier suggest. I am going to start tomorrow for Sauk Center with the Governor and his party. I should have said that the Bishop and his friend are going with us.

Tentative plans have been made to hold the society's annual summer tour and state historical convention from June 13 to 15. The start will be made from the Historical Building in St. Paul at 1:00 P. M. on Thursday, June 13, and afternoon and evening sessions will be held at Traverse des Sioux and St. Peter. On Friday, June 14, a luncheon program will be held at Granite Falls, an afternoon session at the site of the Lac qui Parle mission station in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of its founding, and an evening session at Montevideo. The return to St. Paul will be made on Saturday, June 15, with stops and programs at Willmar and Glencoe. As usual, busses will be chartered to accommodate those who do not choose to go in private cars.

The society has made notable progress since midwinter in its survey and inventory of state and county archives, a project which it has supervised under the State Emergency Relief Administration. The inventory of the state archives has been completed, as have surveys of official records in twenty additional counties. Meanwhile work is going forward steadily in some twenty other counties, and it is planned gradually to push it to completion in all the counties of the state. In eight or ten counties inventories of municipal records preserved at the county seats have also been begun, including the city archives of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Sample surveys are also being made of the records preserved by townships in various counties.

Dr. Lawrence J. Burpee, Canadian secretary of the International Joint Commission, editor of the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, and well-known historian, presented a motion picture entitled "An Animated Map of Canada" before an appreciative audience of nearly two hundred persons in the auditorium of the Historical Building on April 16. Mr. William W. Cutler, president of the society, presided at the session and introduced the speaker. The film showed, by means of running lines, the progress of exploration and the gradual

unfolding of the map of Canada. It was supplemented by a number of colored slides displaying portraits of explorers, reproductions of their maps, and other illustrative materials. The film and the slides were prefaced and accompanied by an interesting lecture in which Dr. Burpee supplied a general historical setting. While in the Twin Cities, Dr. Burpee also presented his animated map before Dr. Bleugen's class in Minnesota history at the University of Minnesota.

Professor Lester B. Shippee, a member of the society's executive council, delivered the presidential address at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, from April 25 to 27. His subject was "A Voice Crying?" The paper will be published in the June issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Other Minnesotans who participated in the meeting were Professor Agnes M. Larson of St. Olaf College, who read a paper on "The Last Stand of the Woodsman in the Old Northwest"; Dr. George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, who spoke on the subject "John Lind, Political Orphan"; and the superintendent of the society, who presided at a session devoted to state historical work in the Mississippi Valley.

Fifteen additions were made to the active membership of the society during the first three months of 1935. They include one sustaining member, Carl R. Gray of St. Paul; and the following annual members: the Reverend J. A. Aasgaard of Minneapolis; Spurgeon S. Beach of Hutchinson; Roy S. Belter of Minneapolis; Mrs. Elizabeth C. Donaldson of Royal Oak, Michigan; Harry T. Drake, Jr., of St. Paul; Noah S. Foss of Minneapolis; S. Rex Green of St. Paul; Ruth M. Jedermann of Minneapolis; Mrs. Edwin J. Kraft of Minneapolis; Charles H. McGill of St. Paul; and Mrs. Elvira H. Vinson, Horace R. Webster, Arthur C. White, and Joseph W. Zalusky, all of Minneapolis.

The Argosy and Elective Study Clubs and the Washington County Historical Society have become institutional members of the society.

The society lost thirteen active members by death during the first three months of 1935: Frank J. Ottis of St. Paul, January 5; Chester L. Caldwell of St. Paul, January 6; George R. Lyman of Pasadena, California, January 14; Cornelius M. Crowley of St. Paul, January

17; John B. Arnold of Duluth, January 28; Luman C. Simons of St. Paul, February 8; Dr. Douglas F. Wood of Minneapolis, February 9; George H. Sullivan of Stillwater, February 15; Donald B. McDonald of Duluth, March 11; Mrs. Charles McC. Reeve of Minneapolis and Pasadena, March 12; Harvey E. Partridge of Minneapolis, March 14; John R. Van Derlip of Minneapolis, March 23; and Rufus P. Morton of Princeton, March 26. Franklin R. Allen of Glencoe died on September 10, 1933; Dr. Ferd N. Hunt of Fairmont on February 1, 1934; and Henry W. Cannon of New York on April 27, 1934.

The "Brief Sketch of Minnesota History," the "Minnesota Chronology," and the descriptive material about the state that appear in the *Minnesota Legislative Manual* for 1935 have been reprinted in the form of a pamphlet by the society (16 p.).

A large bust of Alexander Faribault has been modeled in plaster by Miss Hallie Davis of St. Paul, working under the State Emergency Relief Administration. The portrait, which is based upon pictures preserved by the society, is now on exhibit in its building. Miss Davis is engaged in modeling a similar bust of Minnesota's first territorial governor, Alexander Ramsey.

Old Fort Snelling and the Northwest Company's post at Sandy Lake are being reproduced in miniature groups or dioramas now in preparation by artists under the State Emergency Relief Administration. The project is under the supervision of the society, and the groups, when completed, will be placed on exhibit in its museum.

Seven members of the society's staff addressed meetings in various parts of the state during the first quarter of 1935. The superintendent gave talks on "Glimpsing Minnesota's Past through Contemporary Eyes" before the Duluth Woman's Club on January 25, on the work of the society before the Cosmopolitan Club of St. Paul on February 13, on "Prophet, Crusader, and Apostle of Protest: Three Unusual Minnesotans" before the Six O'Clock Club of Minneapolis on February 18, and he presented an illustrated lecture entitled "A Pictorial Visit to Pioneer Minnesota" at the Wesley Methodist Church of Minneapolis on March 8. Mr. Gates gave a radio talk on the "Red Lake Mission" over KSTP on January 2; he presented

a lecture entitled "Some Minnesota Friends of Mine" before the Highwayan Club of St. Paul on February 11, at the Lake Harriet Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis on February 28, and before a group of state senators' wives meeting in the home of Mrs. Hjalmar Peterson of St. Paul on March 21; and he spoke on "Preserving Historical Records" before the spring conference of the state American Legion Auxiliary meeting in St. Paul on March 30. Mr. Babcock spoke on "Historic Sites and Markers" before the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul on January 20, on "Visualizing Minnesota" at the Red River Valley Winter Shows at Crookston on February 7, on "Abraham Lincoln" before the Northwest Coin Club in Minneapolis on February 12, on "Early Minnesota" before the Parent-Teacher Association of the Mattocks School in St. Paul on February 20, on "Early Minnesota Life" before the Cosmopolitan Club of Minneapolis on March 14, and on "Military Sites and Their Marking" before the American Legion Auxiliary on March 30, and he presented lantern slides with a talk entitled "An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" before the Men's Club of the Linden Hills Congregational Church of Minneapolis on February 15. Radio talks on "Pembina" and on the "Vermilion Gold Rush" were presented over station KSTP by Mr. Larsen on January 17 and March 7; over the same station Miss Jerabek gave a talk on "New Prague" on January 31; Miss Fawcett spoke on recent books about Minnesota before an organization of St. Paul school librarians on February 11; and Miss Ackermann gave a talk on Joseph Renville for members of a fraternal organization in South St. Paul on February 5.

Members of the American Legion Auxiliary in Minnesota who attended a spring conference of this organization in St. Paul on March 30 included in their activities a visit to the Historical Building. For their benefit a special exhibit of military records and manuscripts was placed on display. Two members of the society's staff, Mr. Gates and Mr. Babcock, addressed the conference.

ACCESSIONS

Reports of the activities of Indian mission schools at Red Wing, Pokegama, and La Pointe, and on Indian farms at Sandy Lake and Fond du Lac between 1843 and 1845 are among the items of Minne-

sota interest in the Indian office for which calendar cards have been received recently from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent in Washington for a group of historical agencies. Cards have been made also for reports for the same years of the St. Louis superintendency and the subagencies at La Pointe and St. Peter's; for lists of goods sent to the Chippewa in 1844 and estimates of their needs for the following year; for papers relating to the failure of Lawrence Taliaferro to obtain a recognition of his claim to the agency house at St. Peter's; and for the accounts of Henry R. Schoolcraft detailing the expenses incurred during his expeditions into Minnesota in 1831 and 1832.

An important collection of papers comprising five boxes of letters written by Joseph Wheelock of St. Paul, his wife, and members of her family between 1848 and 1906; a diary kept by Wheelock as a member of the Nobles overland expedition of 1859; and four household account books have been added by Miss Ellen Wheelock of St. Paul to the records preserved by the society for the Colonial Dames of America in Minnesota. Among the subjects touched upon in Wheelock's letters are his work as commissioner of statistics for Minnesota in 1860 and 1861; his activities as editor of the *St. Paul Press*, which he helped to establish in 1861; and his services as secretary to the commission which negotiated the Old Crossing Chippewa treaty in 1863. One of the letters relating to the latter subject is published elsewhere in this number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*. The account books in the collection were kept by Mrs. Wheelock between 1851 and 1878. Among the papers are several letters written by the Reverend Edward D. Neill while he was serving as chaplain of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War. The correspondence between Wheelock and his wife will not be open to the public during the life of the donor.

Eight interesting letters relating to the organization of lodges by the Odd Fellows in St. Paul and St. Anthony in 1849 and 1850 are among thirteen items from the papers of Bushrod W. Lott, presented by his son, Mr. Charles F. Lott of Paradise, California. The collection includes also a letter written by Henry H. Sibley on October 20, 1849, in which he discusses his position as a delegate elected to Congress without party affiliation. Another valuable item in Mr. Lott's gift is a map of St. Paul published by George Nichols in 1851.

Several items of Minnesota interest have been copied recently for the society from a file of the *Congregationalist*, covering the years from 1849 to 1860, preserved in the Congregational Library in Boston. Among them are three letters describing the town of Zumbrota in 1856, two articles by a New Englander who visited St. Paul in the same year, an account of an Indian payment at La Pointe in 1849, and a letter written from Stillwater in 1857. Calendar cards have been made for a number of other items, including accounts of Minnesota by Easterners who went there for their health, of the missionary activities of the Pond brothers, and of the migration of colonists to Minnesota from Concord, New Hampshire, and Lowell and Essex, Massachusetts.

Twelve items from the papers of Jesse M. Stone, covering the period from 1852 to 1861, have been received from Miss Elizabeth Stone of Oakland City, Indiana. They include certificates of Stone's appointment as a notary public in Ramsey County, recommendations for the position of sutler at Fort Abercrombie, and a letter written from Chicago in 1853 by William Sloan, in which he discusses the importance of building a railroad between Chicago and Minnesota.

Information on the Chippewa Indians and the Protestant mission stations maintained at Red and Leech lakes in the middle forties is contained in two letters written by the missionary, David Spencer, to members of the Finney family in Oberlin, Ohio, photostatic copies of which have been made for the society from the originals in the Oberlin College library. A letter written from Red Lake on July 7, 1852, by Mrs. Sela G. Wright, wife of another missionary, has been copied from the original in the possession of Miss Carrie Wright through the courtesy of Oberlin College.

A photostatic copy of an account of a journey from England to Minnesota in the fifties, of life in St. Anthony, and of the staking of a claim near Lake Minnetonka, contributed in 1869 by Frances Wilkinson to the *Skipton Pioneer*, a British newspaper, has been presented by Mr. Charles L. Horn of Minneapolis.

A letter written by Samuel Medary from Washington, D. C., on September 8, 1858, in which he notes that the removal of the land office from Stillwater has been proposed, has been presented by the Historical Society of Montana at Helena.

Two account books kept by Bishop Henry B. Whipple between 1860 and 1873, recording money received and paid out for Indian and home missions in Minnesota, have been added to the archives of the Minnesota diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church through the courtesy of Dr. Francis L. Palmer.

A diary kept in two small volumes by Major Ebenezer O. Rice of the Second Minnesota Cavalry during the Sully expedition of 1864 is the gift of his granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Woker of St. Paul. The record, which covers the period from May 17 to October 8, gives a detailed account of the march of the regiment across Dakota and a description of the region through which it passed.

A typed copy of a brief autobiographical sketch by C. W. Clark, referring to his work as a bookkeeper in St. Paul in the seventies and to his real estate and banking interests in South St. Paul, has been made for the society through the courtesy of his sister, Mrs. A. J. Reeves of St. Paul. Accompanying the sketch is a copy of a letter written by his father, W. F. Clark, from Hammond, Wisconsin, on August 12, 1862, as the latter was about to leave for the Civil War.

Accounts of a trip across the plains to the Colorado silver mines, of the return journey to Stillwater, and of social life and winter sports at that place are given in a diary kept by Zina W. Chase in 1866 and 1867, which has been presented by his grandson, Mr. Z. W. Chase of Ashland, Wisconsin. Nine letters, most of which were written from Colorado or during the return journey, are included in the gift.

Information about a controversy over the charter of the village of Houston is to be found in a letter written by David Taylor of Houston to William H. Potter of the Minnesota legislature on February 24, 1876, which is the gift of Mr. Albert H. Sanford of La Crosse, Wisconsin. He has also presented a notice dated March 21, 1870, of the appraisal of Potter's land in Winona County on the proposed line of the St. Paul and Chicago Railroad.

Seventy township maps of northeastern Wisconsin showing the location of timber, found among the papers of Abraham Johnson, an early lumberman with headquarters at Marine, have been presented

by his son, Mr. Albert Johnson of Marine. He has also added to his father's papers some miscellaneous items of correspondence and accounts for the eighties and nineties (see *ante*, p. 99).

An "Aultman Taylor Wooden Wheel Traction Engine" that was taken to Le Sueur County in 1882 and used for threshing grain is the subject of a sketch by Mr. Joseph T. Rynda, Jr., of Montgomery, a copy of which has been presented by his father.

A history of Bird Island and the surrounding territory of Renville County, including reminiscences of early settlers and copies of local newspaper articles dating from 1891 to 1924, has been turned over to the society by the author, Mr. Paul W. Winnegge of Bird Island. It fills two large volumes and twelve composition books.

A letter written by James Bryce to Professor Jesse Macy of Grinnell, Iowa, on October 15, 1909, has been presented by Mrs. William A. Noyes of Urbana, Illinois, through the courtesy of Miss Helen Starr of St. Paul. The distinguished author of the *American Commonwealth* asks in this letter for information about "Rings & Bosses of the cities of St. Paul & Minneapolis."

Ninety-four tracings of township plats showing sections of the Red River trail between Mendota and Pembina, which were made by draftsmen under the State Emergency Relief Administration, have been presented to the society by the Minnesota Historical Survey, which supervised the project.

Mr. Axel Lindegard of Hallock has presented about sixty personal letters received from prominent individuals or relating to local history. Among them are letters from O. E. Rölvaag, Halvor Steenerson, and Loren W. Collins.

Mr. Arthur Le Sueur of Minneapolis has presented two boxes of papers relating to the activities from 1916 to 1922 of the national Nonpartisan League, of which he was executive secretary in 1918. Included are letters to and from Governor J. A. A. Burnquist, Arthur C. Townley, and others dealing with the attitude of the League toward the World War, radical movements in the United States, and many other subjects. A scrapbook of clippings accompanies the papers.

Copies of the proceedings of the Minnesota State Dental Association from 1926 to 1932 and of articles and speeches delivered at its meetings have been added, through the courtesy of Dr. Henry L. Cruttenden of St. Paul, to the papers of the association already in the society's files (see *ante*, 6: 206).

A paper entitled "Hospitalization in Minnesota," which was read before the Olympian Club of Minneapolis on January 14, is the gift of the author, Dr. Helen Hughes Hielscher of Mankato.

A memorial to Charles J. Tryon, which was read before the Hennepin County Bar Association on February 2 by Mr. J. R. Everett of Minneapolis, has been presented by the author.

A file of *Felt-Raabet* (The Battle Cry), a Norwegian temperance newspaper issued weekly at Minneapolis from May 13, 1887, to February 22, 1889, is the gift of its former publisher, Mr. Halvard Askeland of Minneapolis. The fact that the famous Norwegian novelist, Knut Hamsun, contributed some items to its columns gives the gift a special interest and value. An essay written by Hamsun while he was residing in Minneapolis in 1887, an editorial, and a letter sent to the paper after his return to Europe in 1888 have been located in *Felt-Raabet*.

The story of the Nonpartisan League in Minnesota and the Northwest from 1918 to 1922 can be traced in the files of a group of League newspapers for those years presented by a former official of the party, Mr. A. B. Gilbert of Mound. They include the national edition of the *Non-Partisan Leader*, published at St. Paul; the *Minnesota Leader* of Minneapolis, the *Idaho Leader*, the *Nebraska Leader*, the *North Dakota Leader*, and the *South Dakota Leader*.

Many items relating to the history of the Lutheran church in America are to be found in the *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, a file of which, covering the years from 1849 to 1934, has been received from the publishers at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

A pamphlet entitled *New Prague, Minnesota; Brief Sketches of Its History, Resources, Advantages and Business Men* (1895. 71 p.) is the gift of Mr. A. M. Pederson of New Prague. It was published by the *New Prague Times* and it contains much local information that is not to be found elsewhere.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The past year has seen the historical student's stock of bibliographical tools enlarged by the completion of several new analytical guides and indexes. *A Topical Guide to the Mississippi Valley Historical Review and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings* (88 p.) has been compiled by Charles H. Norby and Walker D. Wyman, working under the direction of Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa. Regional groupings of titles are arranged under such general subject headings as discovery and exploration, settlement, transportation, and politics and government. Titles broader in scope are listed under the caption "The National Scene." Special sections are devoted to "The Historical Profession" and to "Association Affairs." Essentially similar in form, but less elaborate, is the *Index to Materials for the Study of Ohio History in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (21 p.), covering volumes 1 to 43, which was prepared for publication by William D. Overman, curator of history for the society, and reprinted from the *Quarterly* for January. This brief bulletin, a revision and continuation of an earlier index, lists some four hundred titles, and is designed to serve as a handy reference guide in school and public libraries. A bibliography arranged by subjects, compiled by A. Monroe Aurand, Jr., is entitled *Notes and Queries, Historical, Biographical, and Genealogical, Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania, 1878-1900* (64 p.). The State Historical Society of Missouri has published an analytical index (353 p.) to the first twenty-five volumes of the *Missouri Historical Review* (1906-31), the compilation of which was achieved through the voluntary labors of members of the Columbia Library Club. This valuable guide, comprising sixty-five thousand entries taken from more than eleven thousand pages of historical material, will be welcomed by every student of western history. A similar index to the first fifteen volumes of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has been announced and is expected to appear in the near future. An index that may be spoken of fairly as monumental in scope and execution is the *Virginia Historical Index* (1,118 p.), compiled under the direction of E. G. Swem, librarian of the College of William and Mary.

Volume 1, covering the first half of the alphabet, has been published, and volume 2 is announced for the summer of 1935. More than eleven hundred pages in the volume now at hand furnish a microscopic analysis of forty-eight thousand pages of historical material, including several Virginia periodicals, Hening's *Statutes at Large*, and the *Calendar of State Papers and Other Manuscripts Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*. The compilation of this key to Virginia's historical treasures has been financed by private subscription supplemented by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. It may be added that the Minnesota Historical Society brought out in 1931 an index and a classified list of articles covering the first ten volumes of its quarterly magazine and that it has only recently published a *Guide to the personal papers in its manuscript collections*. The latter volume is reviewed elsewhere in the present number of the magazine.

C. M. G.

The discovery of the Minnesota man in 1931, which was described by Dr. Albert E. Jenks in the March issue of this magazine (see *ante*, p. 5-7), is discussed by Carl E. Guthe in part 3 of a "Summary of Archaeological Works in the Americas, 1931-1932-1933," published in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* for February. Three views of the skull accompany the article.

In a *Bibliographie Américaniste* by P. Barret, which is reprinted from the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, are several items of Northwest interest in the fields of history and archaeology (1933, 387-498 p.).

A *Book Guide to the Separate States of These United States of America*, published by the national society of the Colonial Dames of America (1933), includes ten items relating to Minnesota. Among them are Dr. Folwell's four-volume *History of Minnesota*, Grace Lee Nute's *Voyageur*, a few biographies, and several works of fiction.

The second edition of an *Outline and List of Readings for the Course in the History of American Agriculture, Graduate School, United States Department of Agriculture* has been issued by Everett E. Edwards of the United States department of agriculture (1934, 34 p.). The work is in mimeograph form. Three other reading outlines of interest to the student of American agricultural history by

the same author appeared in 1934. They are *A List of American Economic Histories* (17 p.) and *References on the History of Agriculture in the United States* (13 p.), both of which contain citations of books "which afford convenient summaries of the main facts" in their respective fields; and *References on Agricultural History as a Field of Research and Study* (8 p.). These lists likewise are mimeographed. Mr. Edwards, it will be recalled, is the author of an article entitled "American Indian Contributions to Civilization," which appeared as the leading article in the September, 1934, issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*.

S. P. L.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at the Chief American Universities* issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1934 includes many topics of special interest to students of Minnesota and Northwest history. Not a few of them were reported in the *List* for 1933 and were called to the attention of readers of this magazine in a note published *ante*, 15:230. Additional topics from the *List* for 1934 follow: "The Colonization Policy of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company" by R. C. Overton (Harvard); "Growth of Household Conveniences in the United States since the Civil War" by Elizabeth M. Bacon (Radcliffe); "The Old-Time Family Doctor" by H. B. Shafer (Columbia); "French-Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States (1604-1791)" by Sister M. Doris Mulvey (Catholic); "The Indian Trade, 1802-1834" by Ward Hartzell (Wisconsin); "The American Fur Company" by W. R. Bridgewater (Yale); "Money and Credit in Western Trade, 1815-1837" by W. T. Paullin (Wisconsin); "Benedictine Sisterhoods in the United States (1852-1932)" by Sister Regina Baska (Catholic); "Indian Policy of the United States, 1867-1906" by L. B. Priest (Harvard); "The Non-Partisan League" by R. H. Bahmer (Minnesota); "Prehistoric Mississippi Valley Cultures and Their Sequences" by Thorne Deuel (Chicago); "Intertribal Relations among the Great Lakes Indians" by G. T. Hunt (Wisconsin); "Culture in the Old Northwest" by A. Deen (Indiana); "The Removal of the Northwest High-Plains Indians, 1855-1892" by M. E. Jarcho (Minnesota); "Financial Basis of the Railways of the Old Northwest" by E. J. D. Morgan (Wisconsin); "The Development of Manufactures in the Great Lakes Basin," by J. E. Pautz

(Columbia); "Detroit in the British Administration of the West" by D. V. Morford (Michigan); "The German Element in Wisconsin Politics" by Joseph Schafer, Jr. (Wisconsin); "The Progressive Movement in Minnesota, 1900-1902" by W. O. Stout, Jr. (Princeton); "The Mennonites in Iowa" by Melvin Gingerich (Iowa); and "Missouri River Towns in the Westward Movement" by W. D. Wyman (Iowa).

The White-Headed Eagle: John McLoughlin, Builder of an Empire is the title of a biography, by Richard G. Montgomery, of a trader and physician who, before he went to the Oregon country, was active in the fur trade along the international boundary between Minnesota and Canada in the early years of the nineteenth century (New York, 1934. 358 p.). Several of the earlier chapters in the volume deal with his career as a trader for the Northwest Company at Fort William and Fort Frances between 1804 and 1824.

The interest of the British fur companies in the region south and west of Lake Superior during the War of 1812 is emphasized in an article by Julius W. Pratt entitled "Fur Trade Strategy and the American Left Flank in the War of 1812," published in the *American Historical Review* for January. Professor Pratt points out that the United States government was fully aware of the penetration of the American Northwest by British traders in the years following the conclusion of Jay's treaty in 1794, and he reviews the period of the war to show that while the critical military encounters took place in the region of the lower lakes, the importance of the fur country was not by any means forgotten. American policy, he asserts, was defensive as regards the protection of the frontier. Even the establishment of an outpost at Prairie du Chien was a measure intended to forestall an attack on St. Louis. British intentions, on the other hand, were aggressive, and were dominated by the ambitions of the traders. Robert Dickson encouraged the Indians to demand that American settlers should not advance beyond the line of Wayne's treaty of 1795, and efforts to secure military control of the Northwest were so successful that by the end of the war the British held not only the upper Mississippi, but Mackinac, "the key to the Indian country," as well. British peace commissioners at Ghent were instructed for a time to demand a revision of the boundary, but the government

in London had reasons for not insisting upon it, and the American frontier was saved. Professor Pratt's article is based upon a careful study of printed sources and of documents and correspondence preserved in the war department in Washington.

C. M. G.

The unsuccessful mercantile ventures of Robert Rogers in the years following the French surrender of Montreal in 1760 are briefly outlined in an article entitled "Major Robert Rogers, Trader," published by Josephine J. Mayer in *New York History* for October, 1934. The writer draws her material mainly from the published *Papers of Sir William Johnson* and from manuscripts preserved in the New York Public Library, supplying interesting details in the story of Rogers' partnership with Edward Cole, Nicholas Stevens, and Cezar Cormick, and later with John Askin. There is mention of "more or less questionable dealings" with James Tute, Phineas Atherton, Stephen Grosbeck, John R. Hanson, and others during the years of Rogers' command at Mackinac, but no reference is made to Jonathan Carver and his exploration of the Minnesota country in 1766 and 1767.

C. M. G.

"John F. Stevens—A Study in Achievement" is the title of an article by C. H. Heffelfinger which appears in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. It outlines briefly the career of the engineer under whose guiding genius the Great Northern Railroad was completed to the Pacific. His relations with James J. Hill are emphasized, and the fact that he was once employed in the office of the city engineer of Minneapolis is mentioned.

Stephen A. Douglas' interest in the development of the region around Fond du Lac as a possible eastern terminus for a transcontinental railroad, his organization of a syndicate which should speculate on rising land values in that vicinity, and his participation in the founding of Superior City are mentioned briefly in George Fort Milton's recent study, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston and New York, 1934). Included in the large collection of Douglas Papers, which are now in the possession of the University of Chicago and which Mr. Milton is the first scholar to exploit, are original letters relating to Minnesota written by Isaac I. Stevens, D. A. Robertson, R. J. Walker, Henry M. Rice, and Willis A. Gorman. Occasional references to the activities of Rice, Gorman, Sibley, and other Minnesotans

are skillfully woven into this detailed account of national politics during the fifties.

C. M. G.

The advance from 1850 to 1886 of the frontier, or the "pioneer fringe," into Minnesota, across its area, into the Red River Valley, and finally into the Dakotas is graphically illustrated on a series of maps that accompany an article on "The Red River of the North" by Arthur H. Moehlman, in the *Geographical Review* for January. "The transport complex of the advancing frontier struck up the Red River Valley in 1859," he writes, and he mentions the activities of Anson Northup, whose name is misspelled "Northrup," and of the Burbanks. Sections are devoted to the stories of frontier advance in the fifties and sixties, to the "Advance of the Railroads," and to the influence of the international boundary upon the development of the Red River Valley.

One session of the second annual Women's Northwest Conference on Current Problems, held in Minneapolis on March 22 and 23, was given over to the problem of "The Northwest and the Nation." The speakers included Professor Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota, who described "How the Northwest Grew"; Professor Roland Vaile, also of the University of Minnesota, who presented a survey entitled "Taking Account of Northwest Assets"; and Professor John D. Hicks of the University of Wisconsin, who discussed the general subject of the session. Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, presided.

The "Indian Rice Camps" of the White Earth Reservation are described by E. J. Carlson in an article which appears in a publication of the office of Indian affairs entitled *Indians at Work* for November 15. It is of value chiefly for its descriptions of the processes of gathering, parching, hulling, and winnowing the rice, and for the accompanying pictures of these operations. The project of an Indian Emergency Conservation Work crew in the restoration of the Pipe-stone quarry in southwestern Minnesota is the subject of an article by J. H. Mitchell in the issue of *Indians at Work* for December 1.

The letters of Father Franz Pierz, which have been appearing in installments in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* (see *ante*, p. 106), are concluded in the issue for January with two letters written by the pioneer missionary from Arbre Croche in January, 1840.

A column devoted to "Swiss-American Historical Data," by A. Ruedy, has been appearing in *Der Schweizer*, the official organ of the North American Schweizer Bund, since January, 1934. The first installment deals with Swiss settlement in Wisconsin, and sketches of Swiss pioneers who settled in that state appear in the issues for June, August, and September.

The history of the development of the modern grain elevator is contained in an article by W. V. Morrow entitled "Joseph's Prudence Down to Date" in the *Northwestern Miller* for January 9, 1935. The careers of Oliver Evans and Joseph Dart, eighteenth and nineteenth century millers who contributed to the improvement of milling methods, are briefly reviewed.

"The Little Crow Uprising" is the title of a sketch by J. L. Beasley which appears in the November-December issue of the *Mid-West Story Magazine*. According to a statement on the cover of this periodical, which is published at Vincennes, Indiana, it is "featuring the old Northwest Territory—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota east of the Mississippi River."

The autobiography of Edward Howard Griggs, recently published under the title *The Story of an Itinerant Teacher* (1934. 231 p.), deals with the career of a teacher and author who was born in Owatonna, Minnesota. He attended the University of Indiana, taught there and at Leland Stanford University, and later devoted his time to "public teaching" and lecturing in New York City and in Boston.

Among the subjects recently dramatized over radio station WTCN in the "Epic of the Northwest" series, which is being sponsored by the *Minneapolis Tribune* (see *ante*, p. 116), were: the career of James J. Hill, January 2 and 9; the transition from "picture-writing" to the modern "wirephoto," January 16; the story of Sacagawea, the Indian woman who guided the Lewis and Clark expedition from North Dakota to the Pacific coast, January 23; the exploits of George A. Custer, January 30 and February 6 and 13; the subjugation of Sitting Bull, February 20 and 27; the story of Henry Plummer, the Montana sheriff-bandit, March 6; the Montana vigilantes, March 20; and the Republican national convention of 1892 in Minneapolis, March 27. Articles on the same subjects by

Harry Remington appear in the issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* on the Sundays following the radio presentations.

An interesting discussion of *Sault Ste. Marie and Its Names* is supplied by Alice B. Clapp in a recently published pamphlet (23 p.). The booklet is given over mainly to a list of the many names by which the Sault has been known through the centuries by red men and white. Following each name, Miss Clapp, who is librarian of the Carnegie Library at the Sault, lists the works in which the form is to be found. She reveals, however, that there have been only "three official names of the place." The first, she writes, "Sault de Ste. Marie, was given by St. Lusson" in 1671; the same form was "adopted officially when the Post Office was organized on September 11, 1823," and this was not shortened to Sault Ste. Marie until 1901.

An *Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-names*, published as the issue for January, 1934, of the *University of Missouri Studies*, could be used to advantage by students of geographic names in any locality. It is made up of a discussion of "Plans for the Study of Missouri Place-names" by Robert L. Ramsay; a "Bibliography of Library Sources for the Study of the Place-names of Missouri" by Allen W. Read; and a study of the "Place-names of Pike County" by Esther G. Leech. Professor Ramsay's "Plans" were prepared for the use of graduate students in English at the University of Missouri, and they have been applied to studies of place names in sixty counties. Miss Leech's study is presented as an example of that application largely because Pike County is the "most historic and distinctive of Missouri counties." It includes not only a dictionary of names and their origin, but a classification and a discussion of the special features of these names.

"In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the travels and explorations of Albert M. Lea in the Iowa country in 1835," the State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a reprint of his rare *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase*, originally published at Philadelphia in 1836. According to Lea's own statement, in his book "the name Iowa was first given to the populous region now bearing that name." This fact is recognized in the title of the reprint, which reads *The Book that Gave to Iowa Its Name* (Iowa City, 1935).

53 p.). Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, in an "Explanation" that prefaces the text, asserts that the "supreme historical significance of Lieutenant Lea's book is the fact that it fixed the name Iowa upon the country that was to become the Territory of Iowa in 1838 and the State of Iowa in 1846." For Minnesota also the little volume has significance, since the journey that it describes included a trek across the southern part of that state. Minnesotans should therefore be grateful to their neighbors in Iowa who have made this work more accessible. Facsimile reproductions of the covers and title page and a copy of Lea's map are included in the volume, which is beautifully printed and bound. The Lea centennial also is commemorated by the State Historical Society of Iowa in the March and April issues of the *Palimpsest*. The earlier number includes an interesting biographical sketch of Lea, by Ruth A. Gallaher; an account of "The Naming of Iowa," by Dr. Shambaugh; and a description of "Iowa in 1835," by William J. Petersen. In the April number, a "Memorï" prepared by Lea and submitted with his map to the war department in the fall of 1835 is published in full. The original of this document is preserved in the adjutant general's office in Washington. A brief note entitled "Records of the March" suggests other original sources of information on the expedition of 1835.

A history of *Meat Packing in Iowa* by H. H. McCarty and C. W. Thompson has been issued by the College of Commerce of the State University of Iowa as number 12 of *Iowa Studies in Business* (June, 1933. 138 p.). The authors trace from pioneer days to the present the industry in whose history "may be read the hopes, struggles, and disappointments of the successive generations which have transformed raw prairie into productive farms and thriving cities." In the pioneer period the industry was dominated by the Mississippi River packers, but after 1860 meat-packing centers sprang up in the interior of the state, and finally Sioux City became the leading center. The last two chapters deal with the boom period in the industry, 1917-25, and with present-day meat-packing operations.

S. P. L.

A study of *Early Architects and Builders of Indiana* by Lee Burns has been published by the Indiana Historical Society as volume 11, number 3, of its *Publications* (Indianapolis, 1935). "It might be thought a far cry from the studied consideration of form and sym-

metrical composition shown in the important architectural work of England," writes Mr. Burns, "to the simple requirements of early buildings in the Middle West." He points out, however, that books published by English and eastern architects "had a powerful influence, and their directions and measured drawings were generally followed as far as possible." Some early Indiana homes and public buildings are described, and the work of prominent architects is discussed.

A monograph entitled *The Prairie Province of Illinois: A Study of Human Adjustment to the Natural Environment* by Edith M. Poggi has been published by the University of Illinois as volume 19, number 3 of the *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* (1934. 124 p.). According to the preface, the "study represents an attempt to discern the character and influence of the various elements of the natural environment — topography, soil, climate, vegetation, mineral resources, and location — upon the settlement and development of the prairie province of east-central Illinois, and to determine the extent of man's adjustment to these environmental conditions."

The razing of the Greenwood Mill at River Falls, Wisconsin, which was built in 1858, was the occasion for the publication, in the *Hastings Gazette* of February 1, of a brief article about flour and saw mills on the Kinnikinnic River.

Harold E. Briggs is the author of an article on "Grasshopper Plagues and Early Dakota Agriculture, 1864-1876," which appears in the issue of *Agricultural History* for April, 1934. Newspapers and government documents have been used largely in the preparation of the article, which includes some material on the plague in Minnesota in the seventies.

Grand Forks, North Dakota, is pictured as a "merry city in 1885" in an article by W. B. Allen, which is published in the *Grand Forks Herald* for March 31. The account, which is based upon a *Manual and Directory* of that year, calls attention to the many clubs and places of amusement that existed in the city with a population of only five thousand.

"Some Further Material on Peter Pond" that has been made available since the publication in 1930 of Harold A. Innis' *Peter*

Pond, Fur Trader and Adventurer is presented by Mr. Innis in the "Notes and Documents" section of the *Canadian Historical Review* for March. An "item of interest, touching Pond's activities as an explorer rather than as a trader," writes Mr. Innis, "has been made available through the discovery by Miss Grace Lee Nute in one of the copies of the *Gentleman's magazine* for March, 1790, of a map" that "brings out clearly the general belief in a river from Slave Lake to Cook's Inlet." The map is reproduced with a brief explanatory note by Miss Nute in the issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY* for March, 1933 (*ante*, 14:81-84). Another item of special interest in the March issue of the *Review* is a survey by George W. Brown of "Provincial Archives in Canada." His account of the Manitoba archives makes evident the fact that much material of value for the study of Minnesota history is preserved in the provincial library. For example, he notes "volumes of the old Red River census books for 1838, 1840, 1843, 1847, and 1849"; and files of the *Nor'wester* and the *New Nation*, rare newspapers relating largely to the Red River district. To the same number of the *Review*, Reginald G. Trotter contributes an article on "Canada as a Factor in Anglo-American Relations of the 1860's," in which he points out that "dissatisfaction among the settlers at the Red River, expansionist ambitions in the old Province of Canada, the threat of spreading American settlement in Minnesota and the growing economic attraction of St. Paul, together with impending problems of transcontinental communications and transportation, all combined to raise questions as to the future of the north-west."

A section of the International Joint Commission's *Final Report on the Rainy Lake Reference* (Ottawa, 1934. 82 p.) is devoted to the early history of the section of the Minnesota-Canadian boundary country under consideration. The routes used by explorers and traders who traveled from Lake Superior to Rainy Lake are described; brief accounts are presented of explorers who made the district known to the world, such as Jacques de Noyon, the La Vérendryes, Alexander Henry, and David Thompson; trading posts on Rainy Lake and in its vicinity are noted; and the operations of the Hudson's Bay and American Fur companies in the region are described. The settlement of the Rainy Lake district is discussed in a separate section, and another deals with navigation on its waters.

The story of "A Trip to St. Paul in 1860" from the Red River settlements by way of Fort Abercrombie and St. Cloud is told by Margaret MacLeod in the magazine section of the *Winnipeg Free Press* of January 26. The chief characters in this frontier drama are John P. Matheson and his uncle, Hugh Pritchard, who went to the Minnesota capital in an ox-cart train to meet the latter's brother Sam. "Between Pembina and St. Paul lay thirteen rivers," according to the writer, "and some could not be crossed by fording. Each year they were roughly bridged by traders and as often swept away." Near St. Paul the travelers "made camp on the prairie with others already there, hobbling their oxen as usual to graze. Johnny and his uncle went into the town and found Sam Pritchard at the Merchants' Hotel where Red River people usually stayed." The return journey was marked by early winter blizzards, during which the party saved from death by freezing a young priest, Father Goiffon. Miss MacLeod's narrative is based upon material furnished by members of the Matheson family and other Red River pioneers.

A volume of *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story*, written and illustrated with full-page drawings by Charles W. Jefferys, includes a number of sketches of interest for the history of the Northwest. Among them are accounts of St. Lusson at Sault Ste. Marie, of Father Hennepin at Niagara Falls, and of the "Brothers La Vérendrye in sight of the Western Mountains."

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Among the measures passed by the Minnesota legislature of 1935 is a joint resolution providing for the commemoration on July 9 of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Lac qui Parle mission. The measure also provides for a centennial commission to be composed of the Governor, the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and five other citizens. It is the duty of this commission to plan and conduct the Lac qui Parle celebration. The story of the founding of the mission at Lac qui Parle is presented in detail elsewhere in this number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*. This centennial is only one of several that should be fittingly commemorated during the summer of 1935. For example, what Dr. Folwell describes as the "first Christian church within the present area of Minnesota" was established at Fort Snelling on June 11, 1835. One of the ruling elders

of this church, a Presbyterian organization, was Henry H. Sibley, the centennial of whose arrival in Minnesota was marked last year. In 1835 he began the erection of what he later described as "a substantial and commodious stone dwelling, which still stands, as the first and oldest private residence, in all of Minnesota." Several explorers of note visited the Minnesota country in 1835. George W. Featherstonhaugh, an English geologist, and William W. Mather made a trip to the headwaters of the Minnesota River, which the former described in a book entitled *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor* (London, 1847). Some of their exploits are recalled in an article in this number of the magazine entitled "Carver's Old Fortifications." George Catlin, an artist who later discovered the pipestone quarry in western Minnesota, made a brief visit to Fort Snelling in 1835. In the summer of that year also Colonel Stephen Watts Kearney led a dragoon regiment across southern Minnesota westward from the foot of Lake Pepin. Among its members was a young lieutenant, Albert Miller Lea, whose Minnesota visit is commemorated in the names of a lake and a city in Freeborn County.

A brief study outline of Minnesota "History, Industries and Political Life, for Minnesota D. A. R. Chapters" has been compiled by Mrs. Fred Schilplin of St. Cloud, state historian for the Minnesota society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Among the headings used in the outline are geography, Indians, Indian missions, the French and British periods, the fur trade, American exploration, pioneer days, natural resources and industries, politics and government, prominent citizens, and "fiction, biography, travel with Minnesota as a background." Each topic is accompanied by a list of references. The outline has been printed and copies may be obtained from Mrs. Schilplin at a nominal price. Mrs. Schilplin also is state chairman of a "filing and lending historical papers committee" of the Minnesota society, which has published a classified *List of Papers* that were collected and available for the use of local chapters in 1934. Included in the list are most of the radio talks presented in 1932 and 1933 over station WLB under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society and published in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*. Another publication undertaken by Mrs. Schilplin on behalf of the Minnesota society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is

an illustrated pamphlet commemorating the *One Hundredth Anniversary of Sibley Homestead Built by General Henry Hastings Sibley* (1935. [20 p.]). It includes a sketch of Sibley as a "Pioneer of Culture and Frontier Author" by Theodore C. Blegen, which appeared as an introduction to one of Sibley's hunting sketches in *MINNESOTA HISTORY* for December, 1934; accounts of the Sibley House by Mary D. Benedict and Mrs. John S. Lovatt; a sketch of Mendota by Mrs. George Ekstrand; and a description of the Faribault House at Mendota by Mrs. Wesley J. Jameson.

The "Committee Reports" of the Minnesota State Planning Board are presented in part 2 of its *Report*, issued in multigraphed form in January (see *ante*, p. 114). Among the reports included are those of the committees on land use, water resources, forestry resources, production and distribution of income, transportation, public health, welfare institutions, education, taxation, and administrative units. Historical backgrounds are given attention in some of the reports; that on land use, for example, includes an account of the "Agricultural Development in Minnesota"; that on transportation is of value for its surveys of highway, railroad, and airway developments. The reports are accompanied by more than a hundred pages of maps and charts, which illustrate graphically the developments described.

A bibliography of "Materials on Government in Minnesota" by William Anderson appears in the January number of the *Bulletin* of the Minnesota Council for the Social Studies. Among the works listed by Mr. Anderson is Dr. Folwell's four-volume *History of Minnesota*. A brief survey of "Local History Organization in Minnesota" is contributed by Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, to the March issue of the *Bulletin*. "Not a few teachers are interested and active in local history organizations, but many do not realize what splendid opportunities these institutions offer for stirring class interest in history," he writes. "Teachers in turn have here a chance to contribute something to a community."

The Minnesota Archaeological Society arranged an "inaugural exhibition" in the Walker Art Gallery of Minneapolis on February 20.

A paper on the Kensington rune stone by Mrs. C. A. McLaird, presented before the Tyler Federated Club at a recent meeting, appears in full in the *Tyler Journal* for March 15.

Brief historical sketches of events centering about a Minnesota locality continue to appear in the monthly issues of the *Minnesota Journal of Education*. "Fort Beauharnois—France's Part in Minnesota History" is the title chosen by Professor Agnes M. Larson of St. Olaf College for an article that appears in the January number with a view of Lake Pepin and Frontenac, the site of the fort. The beginnings of the granite industry in the St. Cloud area are described by Ethel G. Graves of the State Teachers College at St. Cloud in an article entitled "Scotch Pioneers Opened Minnesota's Early Granite Quarries," which is published in the February issue. Hermann R. Muelder of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, is the author of an account of the discovery of the "Sources of the Mississippi" which appears in the March number with the well-known picture by Eastman of Schoolcraft and Boutwell at Lake Itasca.

Sister Grace McDonald is the author of an informing and entertaining sketch of "A Catholic Newspaper Woman and Novelist of the Pioneer West" which appears in the January issue of *Mid-America*. It deals with the career of Mrs. Julia Amanda Sargent Wood, who settled at Sauk Rapids in 1849 with her husband, William H. Wood. In 1855 he became editor of the *Sauk Rapids Frontierman*, a paper that he later purchased and renamed the *New Era*. The connections of both Mr. and Mrs. Wood with the press of central Minnesota during a period of nearly two decades are described by the author. Her emphasis is placed, however, on the literary activities of Mrs. Wood, who became widely known as a novelist, writing under the name of Minnie Mary Lee. The influence exerted upon her later novels by her conversion to Catholicism and by her frontier experience is brought out.

About two hundred people attended a meeting of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, held in the Historical Building on January 20. Among the speakers were Archbishop Murray of St. Paul, who pointed out the value of the study of history, and particularly of the study of local history; Sister Grace McDonald, who read the account of Mrs. Wood's career described above; Miss Agnes

Keenan, who presented a paper on the life of Father Joseph Goiffon, a Catholic missionary in the neighborhood of St. Paul and in the Red River region; and Mr. Paul Daggett, who made a plea for the marking of historic sites.

An account of the beginning and growth of the Baptist church in Minnesota, presented by George M. Palmer at the Minnesota Baptist state convention at Winona, on October 8, 1934, has been printed as a pamphlet under the title *The History of the Baptist Church in Minnesota* (16 p.). With emphasis upon incidents of the pioneer period, the author mentions the work of a number of missionaries, laymen, and ministers. The organization of churches, the formation of state and local associations, and the efforts to maintain an educational institution which culminated in the establishment of Pillsbury Academy are touched upon briefly. The account is an interesting review of the pioneering work of leaders of the Baptist faith in Minnesota.

L. M. F.

The twenty-eighth anniversary of the Coleraine Methodist Church was celebrated by members of the congregation on January 14. The Bethlehem English Lutheran Church of St. Paul commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding with special services during the week of January 11. Brief histories of these churches are contained in the *Itaska Iron News* of Coleraine for January 18 and in the *Midway Messenger* of St. Paul for January 11, respectively.

Nearly four pages of items relating to Minnesota appear in a *Bibliography on Land Settlement, with Particular Reference to Small Holdings and Subsistence Homesteads*, compiled by Louise O. Bercau, A. M. Hannay, and Esther M. Colvin, under the direction of Mary G. Lacy, and published by the United States department of agriculture as number 172 of its *Miscellaneous Publications* (1934. 492 p.). The Minnesota material included consists for the most part of articles published in newspapers, periodicals, and government publications. Some additional items that relate to a region including the state are grouped under the heading "Great Lakes States."

As early as 1873 the Minnesota State Horticultural Society, which had been organized in 1866, called upon the state legislature to study the advisability of passing laws "for encouraging forest tree culture,

especially in the prairie region of the state"; and in 1874 one of its members read a paper on "Forest Tree Culture," in which he predicted that the white pine of Minnesota would be cut in seventeen years and urged the necessity of a policy of planting and protection. These are among many facts of interest gleaned from the reports of the horticultural society and presented by Professor Henry Schmitz in an article entitled "Shelterbelt Planting Revealed in Early Minnesota Forestry," in the *Minnesota Conservationist* for February. He proves that the society was consistently active in promoting interest in forests in a period when conservation had not yet impressed itself upon the thinking of Americans.

Legends connected with logging and lumbering in Minnesota and the Northwest are presented in verse by Thomas G. Alvord, Jr., in an attractive volume entitled *Paul Bunyan and Resinous Rhymes of the North Woods* (New York, 1934). A collection of *Paul Bunyan Yarns* in prose has been issued by a tourist bureau which has designated a large section of north-central Minnesota as "Paul Bunyan's Playground" (1935. 18 p.).

The lumber industry and the picturesque lumberjacks who developed it have received considerable attention in recent months in the *Stillwater Post-Messenger*. An article entitled "Story of the Lumberjack" by Ralph McGrath, originally read before the students of the Stillwater high school, appears in the issue for November 22. Lumberjack songs are printed in the numbers for November 29, December 13, January 3, and March 14.

"The Trail of the Woodsman" was the subject of an address presented before the Business and Professional Women's Club of Northfield on March 4 by Miss Agnes Larson of St. Olaf College, Northfield. The speaker traced briefly the history of the Minnesota lumber industry.

Steps that are being taken toward the establishment of "An International Park" in the region around Rainy Lake are explained by Ernest C. Oberholtzer in an article in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* for February. "To enter the region is to enter the past," writes Mr. Oberholtzer, who points out that the rocks, the vegetation, the animals, and the presence of numerous Indians all help to create an "illusion of the past." He tells of the establishment of the

Quetico Provincial Park in Canada and of the Superior National Forest in Minnesota in 1909, of recent legislation providing that "no shore line timber may be cut and no changes made in the natural levels of any of the waters," and of the movement in the United States and Canada to "establish a vast wilderness sanctuary" in the Rainy Lake and Pigeon River watersheds. The question "Shall the State Relinquish Control of Grand Portage and Kabetogama Forests to the Federal Government?" as additions to the international park is discussed in the *Minnesota Conservationist* for January. Mr. Oberholtzer takes the affirmative; the negative is supported by E. V. Willard of the Minnesota conservation commission.

A great historical pageant of the Red River Valley, presented at Crookston on February 7, was a feature of the twenty-fifth annual Northwest School Farmers' Week and Red River Valley Winter Shows, held from February 4 to 8. Representatives of thirteen counties participated in the pageant, each group re-enacting a scene from the pioneer history of the valley. The counties and the subjects of the scenes depicted follow: Mahnomen County, an Indian war dance; Roseau County, "The Legend of Gull Rock"; Wilkin County, the arrival of the first settlers in the county and pioneer life in 1857; Red Lake County, the Old Crossing treaty; Otter Tail County, the Clitherall settlers and their relations with the Indians; Clearwater County, the lumber industry and early logging; Kittson County, the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River fur trade; Clay County, "Gayeties of 1880"; Marshall County, "Fisher's Landing and the Coming of the Railroad"; Pennington County, the church in frontier life; Norman County, the development of Red River Valley industries; Becker County, "Recreation in the Red River Valley"; and Polk County, the Red River Valley in the nation's wars. In two final scenes the contrast between the Northwest School of Agriculture in 1910 and in 1935 was shown. At a special women's meeting held on the day of the pageant, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, spoke on "Visualizing Minnesota." He called attention to the growing number of local historical societies in Minnesota and noted that six of these organizations are in the Red River Valley. Plans for a society embracing the entire valley were discussed at a meeting of representatives of these local societies.

An interesting contribution to the social history of the state as a whole is a detailed review of "The First Fifty Years of Music in Minneapolis" by Louise Chapman, which appears in six installments in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune* from January 20 to February 24. The arrangement is by decades; the opening installment describes the musical activities of the fifties. The author reveals that programs presented by local talent and traveling troupes, such as the Hutchinsons and Negro minstrels, were almost the sole attractions of this decade, and that before its close a Minnesota musical association had held a convention in St. Anthony. As the century progressed, local talent developed, choral activity came to the front, and the city began to attract the world's best artists. Miss Chapman notes that during the eighties an "almost unbelievable" amount of opera was staged in Minneapolis; "thirty companies came here, some for two or three return engagements." Among these companies was the well-known Boston Ideal Opera Company; among the artists whose voices delighted Minneapolis audiences were Emma Abbott, Lillian Nordica, and Christine Nilsson. A local genius was discovered when Olive Fremstad appeared in amateur operatic performances. At the turn of the century, writes Miss Chapman, Minneapolis "had three conservatories of music to her credit, a splendid orchestra, and three major musical clubs."

"Minnesota as a Health Resort in the Early Days" is the subject of an interesting article by Maud and Delos Lovelace which appears in *Everybody's Health*, the magazine published by the Minnesota Public Health Association, for January. The authors of *One Stayed at Welcome* have here brought together a number of quotations and other items from Minnesota newspapers of the fifties illustrative of the "high regard which the founders of our state had for the health-giving qualities of Minnesota's climate." The passages that they quote, write Mr. and Mrs. Lovelace, "may be matched again and again in the files of Territorial newspapers, so happily preserved and accessible to us in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society."

Sketches of several Minnesota missionaries of note are contributed by Grace Lee Nute to volume 15 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies (New York, 1935). They deal with the careers

of Father Augustin Ravoux, the Catholic worker among the Minnesota Sioux; Stephen R. Riggs, who did much toward the development of the mission station at Lac qui Parle; and Samuel W. Pond, the centennial of whose arrival in Minnesota was celebrated last year. The work of Gideon H. Pond is mentioned only incidentally in the sketch of his brother. Dr. Nute's research in another field is recognized in the bibliography accompanying the sketch of Radisson, which is the work of Helen C. Boatfield and Eleanor R. Dobson. They write: "A book on Radisson and Groseilliers is in preparation by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, of the Minn. Hist. Soc., who has kindly supplied certain information for this sketch." The career of another trader and explorer, Peter Pond, who visited the Minnesota country during the Revolutionary period, is outlined by Louise P. Kellogg. Three men who figured in the early political development of Minnesota are the subjects of sketches by Solon J. Buck, formerly superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. They are Alexander Ramsey, the first governor of the territory; Henry M. Rice, an early state senator; and his brother, Edmund Rice, Congressman and railroad president. The importance of a Sioux chief, Red Wing, is recognized in a sketch by W. J. Ghent; the career of General John Pope, who led an exploring expedition into the Red River Valley in 1849, is outlined by Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr. The writer merely mentions this expedition, describing it as "survey duty in Minnesota," and in his bibliography he fails to take note of the important report that Pope prepared for the war department and that was published in 1850, with a valuable map, as a government document. The life of George T. Plowman, a well-known etcher who was born at Le Sueur and graduated from the University of Minnesota, is outlined by Helen Wright; Kenneth S. Latourette contributes a sketch of Watts O. Pye, a Congregational missionary to China who was born and educated in Rice County; and a sketch of the Methodist bishop, William A. Quayle, who lived in St. Paul from 1912 to 1916, is the work of William W. Sweet. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, is the author of an account of the career of Johan R. Reiersen, a pioneer Norwegian colonizer in Texas.

The *Southern Minnesotan*, a magazine devoted to the history of the Minnesota Valley and the southern section of the state, is being continued as the *Northwest Pioneer* under the editorship of Mr. Win

V. Working. The first issue under the new title, that for January, includes articles relating to steamboating on the Red River, the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, Chippewa food, and the founding of Hutchinson by "three singing brothers."

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The progress of the local historical movement in Minnesota since 1922, when the first county historical society in the state was organized, may be judged from the following list. According to records kept by the Minnesota Historical Society, forty-one county and community historical societies are now active in the state.

- Anoka County Historical Society, Dr. Scipio Bond, Anoka, president.
Blue Earth County Historical Society, Horace W. Roberts, Mankato, president.
Brown County Historical Society, Fred Johnson, New Ulm, president.
Chatfield Historical Society, G. A. Haven, Chatfield, president.
Clay County Historical Society, Herman C. Nordlie, Moorhead, president.
Cook County Historical Society, E. F. Lindquist, Grand Marais, president.
Cottonwood County Historical Society, H. E. Hanson, Windom, president.
Crow Wing County Historical Society, W. H. Gemmell, Brainerd, president.
Dodge County Historical Society, Teems Slingerland, Mantorville, vice president.
Douglas County Historical Society, Constant Larson, Alexandria, president.
Fillmore County Historical Society, T. J. Meighen, Preston, president.
Glencoe Historical Society, Mrs. Isabelle Zrust, Glencoe, president.
Goodhue County Historical Society, C. A. Rasmussen, Red Wing, president.
Hubbard County Historical Society, Mrs. E. C. Lake, Menahga, president.
Hutchinson Historical Society, H. A. Dobratz, Hutchinson, president.
Jackson County Historical Society, Porter W. Ashley, Lakefield, president.
Kanabec County Historical Society, C. E. Williams, Mora, president.
Koochiching County Historical Society, Mrs. Ruth Doherty, International Falls, president.
Lake County Historical Society, Dennis Dwan, Two Harbors, president.
Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society, G. M. Dwelle, Lake City, president.

- Lyon County Historical Society, A. P. Rose, Marshall, president.
Marshall County Historical Society, Bernard B. Brett, Warren, president.
- Martin County Historical Society, Julius Haycraft, Fairmont, president.
Meeker County Historical Society, Frank March, Litchfield, president.
Montgomery Pioneer Historical Association, Joseph T. Rynda, Jr.,
Montgomery, president.
- Murray County Historical Society, Robert Hysloop, Slayton, president.
Nicollet County Historical Society, Henry N. Benson, St. Peter, presi-
dent.
- Nobles County Historical Society, Mrs. E. J. Jones, Worthington, presi-
dent.
- Olmsted County Historical Society, Burt Eaton, Rochester, president.
Otter Tail County Historical Society, Anton Thompson, Fergus Falls,
president.
- Pipestone County Old Settlers Historical Society, William P. Farmers,
Pipestone, president.
- Polk County Historical Society, C. G. Selvig, Crookston, president.
Pope County Historical Society, M. C. Johnshoy, Starbuck, president.
Rice County Historical Society, C. A. Duniway, Northfield, president.
Rock County Historical Society, E. H. Canfield, Luverne, president.
Roseau County Historical Society, Eddy E. Billberg, Roseau, president.
St. Louis County Historical Society, William E. Culkin, Duluth, presi-
dent.
- Swift County Historical Society, Dr. C. L. Scofield, Benson, president.
Washington County Historical Society, Mrs. W. C. Masterman, Still-
water, vice president.
- White Bear Historical Society, W. A. Stickley, White Bear Lake, presi-
dent.
- Wilkin County Historical Society, H. L. Shirley, Breckenridge, president.

As part of a state-wide canvass of historical manuscripts initiated by the Minnesota Historical Society, inventories are being prepared of the letters, diaries, and other manuscript records collected by local historical societies. Ultimately, it is expected, a union catalogue, or guide, to local collections throughout the state will be issued as a supplement to the recently published *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*. Meanwhile, a brief report will be presented in each issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY of the holdings of one or more societies. A list of the more important items in the collections of the Rice County Historical Society at Faribault follows:

A group of manuscript sermons written by Bishop Henry B. Whipple,
1851-72; records and correspondence of the law firm of Batchelder and

Buckham, 1853-1911; day books kept by Coles and Winans, a meat market, 1857; docket of the Rice County Agricultural and Mechanical Association, 1858; secretary's book of the Faribault insurance agencies, 1864-84; record of watches sold or repaired by a Mr. McGuire, jeweler, 1882-92; ledger of the Brown-Martin Lumber Company of Northfield, 1884-91; records of the social and benevolent organizations, such as the state institution for deaf, dumb, and blind at Faribault, 1863-87, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1871-1907, the I.O.O.F. lodge in Northfield, 1879, Young Men's Christian Association of Northfield, 1885-99, Home Society for Aged Women, 1887-1901, Traveller's Club of Faribault, 1900-28, Grand Army of the Republic, 1903-24, Tatepaha Golf Club, 1901-06, Live Topics Club of Faribault, 1908-25, and American Red Cross of Rice County, 1917-34; miscellaneous warranty deed and pre-emption certificates, 1858-76; case book kept by Dr. N. M. Bemis, 1873; letters by Moses D. Clapp, Richard Faribault, A. L. Metcalf, Earle Brown, the Reverend Henry St. Clair, and others; biographical sketches of early settlers; papers read before meetings of the Rice County Historical Society; and essays on historical subjects submitted by high-school students in a contest sponsored by the society.

At a meeting of the Clay County Historical Society held at Moorhead on March 16, H. C. Nordlie was elected president. Other officers of the society are Miss Ella Hawkinson, vice president; Mrs. S. E. Rice, secretary; and Miss Marjorie Thompson, treasurer. Plans were made for a summer meeting of the organization, and a special project calling for the gathering of biographical material relating to Clay County pioneers was discussed.

The museum rooms of the Crow Wing County Historical Society at Brainerd are now open to the public each Saturday from 2:00 to 4:00 p. m., according to an announcement in the *Brainerd Journal Press* of March 8.

The early history of the churches of Chatfield was the subject of a paper presented by the Reverend R. Jay Wilson at the annual meeting of the Chatfield Historical Society, which was held on February 28. The following officers were elected: G. A. Haven, president, Mrs. E. F. Harnish, first vice president, L. M. Thurber, second vice president, Mrs. G. H. Underleak, secretary, and Miss Ruth Shimer, treasurer.

A paper on "Indian Mounds in Goodhue County" by Professor Edward W. Schmidt of St. Olaf College, Northfield, was read at the regular meeting of the Goodhue County Historical Society on Feb-

ruary 11 by the secretary, Miss Rosalie Youngdahl. Members of the society voted to hold a future meeting in some community other than Red Wing "in order to give residents in the rural districts and surrounding cities the opportunity of taking part in the society's activities."

"For Posterity" is the heading of an editorial in the *Western Guard* of Madison, which advocates the organization of a Lac qui Parle County historical society. The writer urges "that steps be taken at once toward the goal of a county museum," and he suggests "that the first step toward this goal be the forming of a Lac qui Parle Historical Society, with necessary officers and committees that will move toward this end along a definite route."

A local history essay contest, open to pupils in the seventh and eighth grades, is being conducted by the Nobles County Historical Society. Those entering the contest have a choice of the following topics: the history of an old building, the story of a school or a church, a township history, an account of a pioneer industry, or a picture of pioneer home life.

As a "special project," the Pope County Historical Society has undertaken the gathering of material about the "organization and development of the public schools" of the county. A list of questions that will be placed in the hands of teachers and members of local school boards has been drafted by officers of the society. They relate to the organization of the district, the names of teachers and students, state aid, teachers' salaries, the curriculum, library facilities, prominent graduates, and the like.

The White Bear Historical Society has been organized in the village of White Bear Lake with the following officers: W. A. Stickley, president; Mrs. J. C. Fulton, vice president; Roxanne Whitaker, secretary; and William Luedke, treasurer. At a meeting held on April 26 a constitution was adopted and plans were made for the incorporation of the society.

Papers on "Wild Pigeons and Hunting in the Early 60's" by E. A. Taylor and on "Original Preemptions and Early Additions to the City of Faribault" by Mrs. C. N. Sayles were presented at the quarterly meeting of the Rice County Historical Society, which was

held at Faribault on February 25. In the interesting paper by Mr. Taylor, which appears in full in the *Faribault Daily News* for February 26, he pictures the game and the bird life that were abundant in Rice County during his childhood, describing in detail the great flocks of wild pigeons that passed over his home. Mrs. Sayles's paper, which is based upon original records of government surveys, pre-emption records, land title examinations, and the like, is published in three installments in the *News* for February 27, 28, and 29.

The fortieth anniversary of the organization of Roseau County will be the occasion for an elaborate celebration in June, according to an announcement in the *Northern Minnesota Leader* for March 7. Plans for the celebration are being made by officers of the Roseau County Historical Society.

"Duluth as it looked in the days of the early lake voyageurs and the forest trappers lives again on the walls of the rooms in the courthouse occupied by the St. Louis County Historical society," according to a writer for the *Duluth Herald* of January 18. Some of the more interesting pictures owned by the society are described in detail, and the announcement is made that the entire collection has been reclassified recently by Mr. William E. Culkin, its president. Articles about the collection, by Mr. Culkin, appear in the *Duluth Free Press* for January 4 and 18 and February 8. Some of the museum objects owned by the society and displayed in its rooms are described by the same writer in the *Free Press* for February 15.

At a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society at Lake City on February 11, Mr. M. L. Erikson presented a paper on early Lake City hotels and restaurants.

Mr. W. E. Easton, editor of the *Stillwater Gazette*, reviewed the history of Stillwater's newspapers before a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society at Stillwater on February 11. A brief review of the history of Minnesota was presented by Mrs. Daisy M. Foster. Mr. Easton's paper appears in full in the *Gazette* for February 12. At a meeting of the society held on March 19, stories of the post offices in the northern and southern sections of the county were recounted by Mrs. Nellie Everett and Mrs. H. F. Schilling; and a retired rural mail carrier, Mr. Charles Johnson, recalled some of his experiences.

A movement looking toward the organization of a local historical society has been started in Winona County. A questionnaire relating to such an organization sent to interested individuals early in the year met with a favorable response.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The growth of the Aitkin school system from the "log cabin days to the fine modern plant" is traced by L. C. Murray, superintendent of schools, in the *Aitkin Republican* for February 21. A chronological list of important events in the history of the system, based upon the minutes of the school board, is included. Pictures of early school buildings and of the present Aitkin school accompany the article.

The results of a local history essay contest conducted by the Philolelian Society of Anoka were announced at a meeting held on January 4, and the three prize-winning essays were read. Fifty-six essays were submitted in the contest, which was limited to students in the seventh and eighth grades and in the high schools of Anoka County. All the essays have been turned over to the Anoka County Historical Society. The first prize was awarded to Dorothy Ann Weaver for an account of "Early Medicine in Anoka County"; a sketch of "Early Events in the History of Anoka County" by Leland Workman received second place; and Constance Hilton was given the third prize for a description of the "First Hotel and Trading Post in Anoka County." The first two essays appear in the *Anoka County Union* and in the *Anoka Herald* for January 9; the third is to be found in the same papers for January 16. Other essays submitted in the contest also have been published from time to time.

The Detroit Lakes post of the American Legion has appointed a historical committee to "ascertain what items of historical interest exist in the county." The establishment of a historical museum at Detroit Lakes is being considered. According to an announcement in the *Detroit Lakes Record* for February 14, "one of the objectives the Legion has in mind is to bring to the people of the county a realization of the value of historical data and of articles which have been identified with the early pioneers. So much of this material has already been lost that something should be done to care for what is still available."

Mr. Clark Orton of Algona, Iowa, a son of C. K. Orton, the founder of Ortonville, is the author of a series of reminiscent sketches, the first of which appears in the *Ortonville Independent* for January 31. Among the subjects of these articles are the blizzard of 1878, a prairie fire that nearly destroyed the town, and early schools in Ortonville.

Early days in Sleepy Eye are described in an interesting and detailed reminiscent article by George W. Somerville of Los Angeles, which appears in the *Brown County Journal* for January 11. The writer relates that he "landed in Sleepy Eye on June 24, 1879, just in time to be drafted into the making of the Fourth of July speech." A valuable feature of the sketch is Mr. Somerville's account of the impeachment proceedings against Judge E. St. Julien Cox, which occurred while the author was serving as county attorney of Brown County. He describes also his experiences as a state senator from 1898 to 1906, and his activities as an attorney in "practically every county seat fight in the state." The article is reprinted in the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch* for January 17 and 24.

In a letter published in the *Barnum Herald* for January 17, Mr. John Manni tells how the village of Kettle River in Carlton County received its name. The settlement, which was made up largely of Finns, was originally known as Finland, and part of it is still called by that name, according to the writer. After the railroad was built in 1909 and a post office was established, the town was often confused with another village of the same name in Lake County. As a result, writes Mr. Manni, the Carlton County settlement was given the name of the stream on which it is located.

The thirty-eighth anniversary of the *Chisago County Press* of Lindstrom is the occasion for the publication of a history of the newspaper in its issue for March 7. Its beginnings are traced to a Swedish paper called *Medborgaren*, which began publication on March 3, 1898. According to this account, *Medborgaren*, the *Chisago County Courier*, and the *Center City Press* "were consolidated into the Chisago County Press in the year 1905."

Under the heading "Early Days—Olden Ways," historical essays submitted in a contest sponsored by the *Farmers Independent* of

Bagley for students in the grade schools of Clearwater County have been appearing regularly in that paper since January 3 (see *ante*, 15: 485). The results of the contest are announced in the issue for that date, which includes also the essay that was awarded first place—an account of "Early Days in Shevlin" by Helen Gordon. The second prize was given to Verna McCollum for a sketch of the "History of the Moose School," and the third to Severt Kvande for an outline of the "History of Clearwater County."

In a letter to the *Windom Reporter*, published in its issue for January 4, Miss Gertrude B. Gove relates the history of the public square on which the Cottonwood County courthouse now stands. "When the Sioux City and Saint Paul Railroad Company," writes Miss Gove, "platted the original townsite of Windom in 1871, 'a good sized Public Square to be surrounded with business buildings' was a part of the plan." Items about this square are quoted from local papers from 1871 to the present, and the activities of various individuals in helping to beautify the community are described.

The recent abandoning of the Hastings and Dakota Railroad, which since 1868 has connected Hastings and Farmington, is the occasion for the publication, in the *Hastings Gazette* for February 8, of an interesting sketch of the history of the road. The building of the road, the arrival of the first locomotive, its first trip with six flat cars over a mile of road, and an excursion to Farmington on New Year's Day, 1869, are described. Much of the narrative is based upon material drawn from early files of the *Gazette*. The article is reprinted in the *Dakota County Tribune* of Farmington for February 22.

Since the publication in the *Grant County Herald* of Elbow Lake of William Goetzinger's "Trails: An Early History of Grant County," a number of pioneer residents of the region have contributed reminiscent articles to that paper. Sketches by C. H. Phinney of Herman appear in the issues for January 24, February 7 and 21, and March 7, 21, and 28; among the subjects of his articles are a trip by covered wagon from Wisconsin to western Minnesota in 1869, wheat shipments to Minneapolis in the seventies, the first school in Herman, the grasshopper plague, and prairie fires. Other interesting articles about frontier life in western Minnesota written by J. N.

Sanford of Cloverdale, New Mexico, and George G. Allanson of Buffalo have appeared in recent issues of the *Herald*.

Laws and regulations adopted by the town board of Crystal Lake Township in Hennepin County from 1860 to 1863 are described in an article in the *Hennepin County Enterprise* of Robbinsdale for March 28. Information presented in the sketch was drawn from a volume of "Records of the Town of Crystal Lake," discovered recently in the office of the *Enterprise*.

"The Mills of Edina" are the subject of a sketch by Mrs. Mary C. Percy, which appears in the *Northwestern Miller* for January 30. She asserts that "there have been five mills on Minnehaha Creek," and she tells in some detail the story of the one that was known as the Edina Mill. This mill was acquired in 1869 by the writer's grandfather, Andrew Craik.

The passing of half a century since organized charities had their beginning in Minneapolis was celebrated by the Minneapolis Family Welfare Association on December 17, 1934. A brief outline of its development from 1884, when it was organized as the Associated Charities, to the present is contained in a booklet issued in connection with the celebration. Another Minneapolis charitable organization, the Jewish Family Welfare Association, marked its twenty-fifth anniversary on January 30. A sketch of its history is included in the report of its president, Mr. I. S. Joseph, which appears in the association's *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* (15 p.).

The *Bulletin* of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts for February 23 is given over to an article on "How the Art Institute Began." It traces the story of art in the Mill City back to 1883, when the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts was organized with Dr. William W. Folwell as president; tells of the opening of the Minneapolis School of Art in 1886; and describes the steps by which after 1910 the institute acquired its collections and its building. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the institute was celebrated by its members on January 10.

The interesting and unusual story of a Minneapolis store that has drawn customers from all parts of the city to Cedar Avenue since the late eighties is told by Joe MacGahern in an article entitled "Holtzermann's Quest," which appears in *Golfer and Sportsman* for Feb-

ruary. Special attention is given to the collecting and importing done by Louis Holtzermann, who supplied the store with its unique stock.

The organization in 1920 and the later activities of the Minneapolis Municipal Ski Club are described by Julius P. Blegen in an article entitled "King of Winter Sports," which appears in the *M.A.C. Gopher* for January. Events sponsored by the club and "ski stars" among its members who have gained wide reputations are mentioned.

The Metropolitan Life Building of Minneapolis is described as the city's first skyscraper in an article by Gordon Roth in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 3. The writer describes the construction of the building in 1888 by Louis F. Menage and tells of the festivities that accompanied its completion.

Ten Minneapolis buildings selected for their historical importance by the Historic American Buildings Survey are described in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 10. They include the stone towers at Fort Snelling, two early residences, the Pillsbury "A" Mill, and two churches.

Brief biographical sketches of several Minneapolis men, including Arthur M. Keith and Walter J. Keith, are to be found in a recent genealogical work entitled *The Keith Book* by Adelaide Keith Merrill (Minneapolis, 1934. 187 p.).

The issue of the *Hokah Chief* for March 21 is an eightieth anniversary number which contains a number of interesting historical articles about the community in the Root River Valley. Mr. W. W. Becker is the author of an article entitled "When Hokah Was Young," in which he lists many of the older homes and other buildings in the village and tells briefly the stories of their beginnings. Early railroads in southeastern Minnesota are recalled by a pioneer locomotive engineer, Mr. John Green. A collection of pioneer objects and manuscripts assembled by Mr. W. J. Langen and displayed in a log cabin which he erected for the purpose on his farm near Hokah is the subject of another article.

A band organized at Grand Rapids in 1892 is described as the "first musical organization in Grand Rapids and Itasca county" in

the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for March 20. An account of this band and of musical activity in northeastern Minnesota is included in a column headed "Up in This Neck of the Woods."

Announcements about a history of Lincoln County to be published serially in the *Lake Benton News* appear in that paper for March 22 and 29. A plea for letters and reminiscent material relating to the early history of the county is made in the latter issue.

Some incidents in the "Early History of Marshall County" are related by Darlyne Sands in the *Warren Sheaf* for January 23. She tells of a number of early settlers who came to the county in covered wagons from the southern part of the state, she describes some early schools and churches, and she relates the story of the beginnings of railroad transportation in the region.

The reminiscences of an Olmsted County physician, Dr. Charles T. Granger, are presented in a series of articles entitled "The Saga of a Country Doctor" that appear in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* from January 13 to March 3. Dr. Granger began practicing in Rochester forty-three years ago, and his narrative contains numerous accounts of the hardships that a general practitioner had to undergo in the horse and buggy age. Names of physicians who have become famous in medical history in the nation as well as in Minnesota appear in the account.

S. P. L.

Incidents from the early history of *Otter Tail County* are being included in a column bearing the heading "Otter Tales: A Personalized History of Otter Tail County," which began publication in the *Perham Enterprise-Bulletin* for March 14. In the opening installment, Mr. Harvey Smalley, Jr., the editor, expresses his indebtedness to Mr. Henry Kemper, a pioneer of the county, and states that information has been obtained also from files of the *Bulletin* and from the state and county historical societies. Material relating to a settlement at Rush Lake appears in the first few installments.

Successive periods of drought and flood in *Otter Tail County* after 1859 are described by a former resident of the region, W. J. B. Moses of Springfield, Ohio, in an article in the *Alexandria Citizen-News* for February 7. The sketch is reprinted from a Springfield newspaper

for which Mr. Moses prepares a column, writing under the name of "Barr Moses."

The founding of a Dutch colony at Butler in Otter Tail County in 1910 is described by Mr. Jacques Hendrickx, one of the original settlers, in an interview published in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for March 19. The original members of the colony are named, their present whereabouts are given, and the conditions with which they were forced to cope upon their arrival are described.

Recent archaeological discoveries in western Minnesota are briefly touched upon in the first of a series of popular articles by Win V. Working which have been appearing in the *Thief River Falls Times* under the title "Red River Valley History" since January 24. Among the subjects of other articles are the Indians of northern and western Minnesota, Chippewa-Sioux warfare, early white explorers, and the Red River carts and the routes that they followed.

Among the sketches published by Mr. Win V. Working under the general title "History of the Northwest" in the *Crookston Daily Times* during the past three months are an account of dairying in Polk County, October 11; the history of the churches of Crookston, October 13 to 17; an Indian scare of 1891, November 23 to 26; the schools of Crookston and Polk County, December 5 to 8; lumbering in western Minnesota, December 27 to January 6; the Northwestern Minnesota Singers' Association, which was organized in 1922, February 22 and 23; and the fairs of Polk and Norman counties, March 11 and 12.

Mr. William F. Markoe is the author of an account of a large Indian mound on his father's property on White Bear Lake, which appears in the *White Bear Press* for February 1. He relates that the mound was destroyed by workmen in the late eighties, and that they uncovered nineteen skeletons and many primitive artifacts.

That today "St. Paul Boasts Fewer Hotels than in 1886" is brought out in a brief sketch in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for January 14. The account notes that St. Paul was credited with sixty-six hotels in the *Hotel Red Book* of 1886, while at present only forty-eight are listed in the classified section of the telephone directory.

A summary of the main events in the history of the village of Wabasso in Redwood County and a series of short chapters describing the establishment and growth of churches, schools, clubs, and business organizations comprise a volume entitled *The Story of Wabasso* (1934. 183 p.) written by Arnold J. Bauer in commemoration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town. A selection of "Episodes of Wabasso," some of them amusing, others sensational, and a list of old settlers conclude the volume. The author has gathered his material from contemporary documents and newspapers and from the minute books of organizations, supplementing these facts with the recollections of "old time residents." His record is more a compendium than a narrative, and too much emphasis is placed in it upon "first" events. Nevertheless his sense of humor and of human interest make the book thoroughly readable, and the facts he presents give a suggestive picture of social life in a small town in twentieth-century Minnesota.

C. M. G.

Interviews with Redwood County pioneers are reported by Ray E. Colton in a number of recent issues of the *Redwood Gazette* of Redwood Falls. The recollections of Mr. and Mrs. Gottlieb Kuenzli, who settled in Redwood Falls in the late sixties, are the basis for an article published on February 7. Some of their most interesting reminiscences relate to the activities of a pioneer physician, Dr. D. L. Hitchcock. The experiences of two other Redwood County pioneers, Mr. A. A. Wilson and Mr. Joseph Tyson, are described in articles published on February 21 and 28. Archaeological discoveries in central Minnesota are the subject of another article by Mr. Colton, which appears in the issue for March 7.

An announcement that a room in the Northfield Public Library "is now open to the public and ready to receive gifts of local historical objects and manuscripts" is made in the *Northfield News* for March 22. The citizens of Northfield are invited to "share in what may become an important Northfield asset by giving to the public library, in trust for the people of this community, any articles bearing on the history of the region."

In order to "create popular interest in and appreciation of the backgrounds" of the Northfield community, Mr. Carl L. Weicht, editor of the *Northfield News*, has been giving monthly radio talks

under the auspices of the Northfield Association over station WCAL. The first talk, presented on February 20, dealt with a group of Northfield pioneers who were "cultural builders"; the second, given on March 20, reviewed the story of early milling on the Cannon River and its relation to the founding of Northfield; and in two talks presented on April 17 and 24 the most exciting episode in the history of the community, the bank robbery of 1876, was recalled. The talks have been published, with appropriate illustrations, in the *News*, the first appearing in the issue for March 1.

Among the sketches on local history published recently by Mr. J. E. Townsend in the *Belle Plaine Herald* are accounts of "Deer and Bear Hunting" and of the hunting of small game in the vicinity of Belle Plaine, which appear in the issues for January 10 and 24. Another sketch, which is published on February 21, deals with "Commodity Prices of 75 Years Ago"; it is based upon an account book for the years 1860-62.

A brief sketch of a school at Shakopee known as "District 41 School" appears in the *Shakopee Argus-Tribune* for January 10. The building, which was erected in 1870, is soon to be demolished. The register of the first class enrolled in the grammar department has been preserved by one of the students, Mr. Julius A. Coller, and the names of the students included in the register appear with the present article. An early picture of the school illustrates the article.

An account of mounds in the Cut Foot Sioux district prepared by Gerald S. Horton, formerly a forest ranger in the region, is the basis for an article by George W. Kelley in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for March 10. Mr. Horton has presented a copy of his account to the Minnesota Historical Society (*see ante*, p. 101).

Life in a frontier Minnesota town on the upper Mississippi—St. Cloud—during the stirring days of the Civil and Sioux wars is portrayed by Henrietta L. Memler in a historical narrative entitled "St. Cloud, 1861-65," which appears in installments in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* from February 8 to March 6. The account, based chiefly on items gathered from newspapers—the *St. Cloud Democrat* and the *St. Cloud Times*—and from manuscript sources in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, was prepared orig-

inally as a term paper for a course in Minnesota history at the University of Minnesota. It traces the economic, social, religious, and political bases of life in the frontier community of St. Cloud through a five-year period, and synthesizes the different elements into a coherent whole. In the opening year of the Civil War, Miss Memler points out, St. Cloud was still a frontier village less than ten years old. There remained a great deal of work to be done in the formation of the frontier institutions of the time—schools to be established, churches to be erected, business enterprises to be expanded, and homes to be constructed. The Civil War, although it seemed to the citizens of St. Cloud to be a "dim and distant" scourge, hampered the work of laying these foundations. The real menace to progress, however, was the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, and so impressed with the horrors of Indian war were these frontier people that "beyond a doubt, St. Cloudians of the later nineteenth century placed their events 'before' or 'after' the Indian Scare, rather than 'before' or 'after' the rebellion." The narrative is divided into three chapters, one dealing with events before the outbreak, a second with the outbreak itself, and a third with the last years of the Civil War period. The account is carried up to the period of rapid growth that followed the construction of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad to St. Cloud in the fall of 1865. It is an excellent and interesting example of the possibilities for constructive work afforded by a study of local history.

A. J. L.

The story of a southern Minnesota community is reflected in the fortieth anniversary edition of the *Blooming Prairie Times*, published on February 21. The history of the paper, which was established in May, 1893, is the subject of a number of articles. Among these is a long reminiscent narrative by Theodore Fagre, editor of the *Times* for twenty-four years; a brief article by Mrs. Geraldine Rasmussen, telling of her purchase of the paper in 1929 and of her adventures as its publisher; and an account of the experiences of a reporter for the paper in 1917 by H. E. Rasmussen, now the publisher of the *Austin Herald*. A large number of articles in the issue deal with the development of local business concerns, including a shoe store, a clothing store, drug stores, meat markets, a furniture store, general stores, creameries, a mill, banks, a garage, a barber shop, a hardware store, and an automobile dealer. Historical sketches of local Catholic,

Presbyterian, Baptist, and Lutheran churches are presented; and the development of the village school system is outlined. The history of the village, from its founding in 1867, is reviewed; a sketch of the township, which originally was called Oak Glen and which was settled in 1856, is included. Fraternal organizations and local clubs are the subjects of several articles; the beginnings of football in 1906 are described; the story of the municipal light plant is presented; and the World War services of the community are outlined. Among the individuals whose contributions to the growth of the village are described are Mr. Henry Vollhardt, Mrs. J. C. Brainerd, and Dr. Benedik Melby.

The quarrying of limestone for building purposes in the neighborhood of Owatonna is the subject of an interesting historical sketch by Emery Lindesmith in the "tabloid" section of the *Owatonna Journal-Chronicle* for January 4. The author relates that Avery W. Adams quarried the first stone along the Straight River in 1855, using the product in the building of his home; that commercial quarrying was started by Daniel C. Potter in the sixties; and that extensive operations were conducted from 1870 to 1904 by Orlando Lindesmith. The methods used to quarry the stone, which in the early period depended entirely on hand labor, are described in some detail by Mr. Lindesmith.

Reports of interviews with and reminiscent articles by pioneers have been appearing from time to time in the tabloid section of the *Owatonna Journal-Chronicle*. An interview with Mr. E. M. Twiford, for twenty-eight years chief of the Owatonna fire department, appears in the issue for January 11; Mr. Jonathan O. Eastman recalls the extreme cold of 1873 in an article published on February 1; and in the issue for February 15 Mr. Louis F. Teske tells that "getting mired" in Owatonna was a regular occurrence in the spring before the streets were paved. An interesting series of reminiscent sketches by Herbert Luers, formerly editor of the *Journal-Chronicle*, has been appearing since February 21. In the opening installments he tells of the activities of the Beethoven Musical Association, a choral society organized and directed by Professor A. C. Gutterson, and of the Owatonna band, which was directed by George D. Holden. Social life and amusements in the eighties and the writer's experiences as a newspaper man are described in later installments.

Pioneer life in Stevens County was described by Mr. L. L. Hanse of Framnas Township in an address presented before the Wadsworth Trail chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Morris on March 12. He told of the arrival of his family in the township in 1867, of life in a dugout, of early transportation by stagecoach and rail, of relations between settlers and Indians, and the like. The address is published in full in the *Morris Sun* for March 15.

Mr. O. B. DeLaurier's histories of Todd County townships continue to appear in the *Long Prairie Leader* (see *ante*, p. 131). Ward Township is described in the installments that appear from January 3 to 24; Hartford Township is the subject of those published from January 31 to March 28.

Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester was the principal speaker at the fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Old Settlers of Greenwood Prairie, which was held on February 20. He described the Minnesota exhibit at the Crystal Palace Exposition in New York in 1853 and told of the resulting immigration. A paper entitled "Memories of Plainview" was read by Mrs. Minnie O'Connell. This paper was presented also at a meeting of the Plainview Travelers' Club on February 18.

The history of the Lake Pepin Valley Old Settlers' Association during the fifty years that have passed since its founding was reviewed by Mrs. William C. Fick, Jr., at the annual meeting of the association, which was held at Lake City on February 7. A report on the progress of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society, which was established last year, was presented by Mr. Glenn M. Dwelle. Mrs. Fick's paper appears in the *Lake City Graphic-Republican* for February 21.

Plans for the establishment of a state park on the point of land near Frontenac where Fort Beauharnois was located are announced in the *Wabasha County Leader* of Lake City for January 31.

The operations of an early sawmill at Central Point, near Lake City, are recorded in a day book now owned by A. B. Grannis of Lake City, according to an article in the *Lake City Graphic-Republican* for February 21. The entries show that a "locomotive engine" to run the mill was brought "by river steamer at a cost of \$671.66 from Alleghany."

A historical sketch of Brown's Hotel at Lake City, which has been designated by the Historic American Buildings Survey as a structure worthy of preservation, appears in the *Wabasha County Leader* for February 7. The building was erected in the early fifties.

Members of the Winona County Old Settlers Association assembled at Winona on February 22 for their forty-sixth annual meeting. Interviews with a number of the pioneers who attended the meeting are reported in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for February 22. Early lumbering and steamboating activities are recalled by Mr. James T. Robb, Sr., of Winona; Mr. James Douville of Dakota tells of experiences in the Civil and Sioux wars; and the collapse of a drawbridge on the Winona and St. Peter Railroad in 1871 is described by Mr. Fred D. Perkins of Winona.

Pioneer life and people and early events in the history of Monticello are described by C. A. French in a series of articles which began publication in the *Monticello Times* for January 10. Among the subjects touched upon are Wright County settlers in the Civil War, the naming of Monticello, early postmasters, the platting of the town-site, the "Massachusetts colony," and the building of the first bridge across the Mississippi at Monticello.

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